

Muslim history of the Region of Murcia (715-1080). Volume I



Govert Westerveld
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Dedication

I dedicate this work to the English teacher

Mari Cruz Gómez Molina

This book is dedicated to Mari Cruz Gómez Molina. To rule is to look into the future. Gómez Molina was acting as Manager of the Tourism Promotion Plan of the Ricote Valley between 2002 and 2010 and so the Ricote Valley became known worldwide thanks to her promotion and international contacts. Today she continues to look into the future by promoting the Ricote Valley; in her daily task of teaching children English she is again ruling and preparing the future. We all know the importance of English; thanks to her continuous hard work new generations will be infected with her enthusiasm to continue the efforts for promoting this latest famous Muslim outlet.

Preface

If this book did not seem to me highly readable and interesting enough to foreigners, I would not have translated so many Spanish texts, and publish the work thereafter, because after all the compensation will be zero. I am not interested here in praising the book and recommending it to readers. They will understand its merit without getting me tired to commend it. I am also not going to contradict or challenge the Arabists highlighting the errors which I may have incurred; my great ignorance of the Arabic language and literature does not consent it.

As a foreigner I am always interested in the local history of a place, and the more I read about the place, the more I am interested in knowing more of its history. Something like that occurred while I was investigating the history of the village of Blanca which lies in the Ricote Valley of the province of Murcia. I could not get further than to 1243, but of course the castle of Blanca had been constructed around 1180, which means that there is more history of this village. It is necessary to write about the history of the kingdom of Murcia (Tudmir) to have an idea of what the history and way of life in Blanca was like. Just as a stone flung into the water becomes the centre and cause of different circles. Here the centre is Tudmir and the circle is Blanca.

This work is the result of studies led by me during my long stay in Blanca (Murcia, Spain). At the same time the desire awoke in me to learn more about the culture of this territory. The darkness and oblivion opposed my purpose, of a nation that almost for eight centuries dominated in Spain. On the other hand the political history of the Spanish Arabs (Muslims) in Murcia remained in the deepest darkness until recently. I do not deny the glory of Dozy and the immense service he has done with its publications to Spain, but we cannot ignore that today

we have Arabists in Murcia and Spain who follow the footsteps of the wise Dutch and have improved on him a lot.

Murcia belonged to Al-Andalus and throughout the period of Islamic rule, Al-Andalus was a remarkable example and outstanding model of tolerance. All Jews and Christians were allowed to maintain their beliefs and live their lives as they desired as long as they respected their Muslim rulers. The Muslims played a principal role in the history of Spain. Their presence illuminated the Iberian Peninsula while the rest of Europe was engulfed in darkness. And so, Andalusia produced a great civilization far ahead and advanced than the rest of Europe. Under their rule, Muslims made Spain a center for learning and knowledge.

In this development over centuries a certain period was dominated by the Islamic sciences - it stretches from the beginning of the 8th to the end of the 12th century. Although some original scientists manifested themselves even during the 13th to the 15th century, the real vital drive of the intellectual energy was already on the way back in this period. However, the influence of this scientific movement in the West was noticeable until the end of the 16th century and even later.

The fact that one must assign an important place in the history of science at the medieval science is a fact that has only recently been recognized by historians. Indeed, the Middle Ages as a whole - particularly with regard to scientific thinking - were easily seen as a period of obscurantism, a sterile and unproductive period: the dark ages. This view has its roots in two outdated attitudes that were widely distributed among historians of the Middle Ages. The first is to focus on the political and economic problems without considering the scientific achievements: one reduces the role of the Middle Ages to the passing of science regardless of real creativity. In exceptional cases where the scientific achievements were still

studied they limited themselves to considering the sciences of the Latin Middle Ages, while the Eastern science was ignored. This was the second mistake.

This attitude is due to the contempt medieval science was bestowed on in the Renaissance in the 17th and 18th centuries. Renaissance relied on the classics after any other source of knowledge and put a real hostility on beliefs of a different origin. The scientific creativity in the Middle Ages, however, is mainly found in the Arabic texts. If, therefore, one wants to rewrite the history of the Middle Ages as a whole and revalue its intellectual heritage, one must consciously consider the Arabic literature.

On the other hand, the Eastern influences on the development of science in ancient times never got the place they deserved after the historiography of this period. The 8th and 9th centuries are the time when the Greek science is passed to the Islamic world. Then the Islamic science came to the Latin world from the 11th to the 14th century.

The translation movement of Greek scientific works into Arabic during the Islamic Middle Ages included almost the totality of the scientific literature and in less than a hundred years this literature was not only available in Arabic, but also assimilated by the scholars of Islam that began to build original work on these new foundations.

This scientific literature of Greek origin became enriched in his new Islamic intellectual environment with Oriental, Persian, Indian, Chinese elements and other yet to be clarified. In other words, the Indian or Chinese science in general did not directly influence the historical development of the sciences in the West. But they did so well through the medieval Islamic science.

From the 8th century until the end of the 11th century Arabic was the universal language of science. During these 350 years everybody who wanted access to existing scientific literature had to resort to Arabic. Even in the 12th and 13th centuries Arabic still remained the fastest way to gain access to the scientific novelties. Spain, especially Toledo, and Italy, particularly in the south and Sicily, were the main centers of transfer of scientific knowledge from the East in Latin to the West. It is thus obvious that the scientific tradition, of which modern science is the last chapter, passed through various stages of progress, which are successively Greek, Arabic, and Latin.

This book is the result of Arabic texts translated to Spanish by various authors. The result is that on more than one occasion the names of people in question are written in a different way. I did not change or correct their names during my translation from Spanish to English, because this is the work of the real experts, the Arabists. I have only written this book of the history of Arabic Murcia, because till now Murcia lacks an English edition about the Arabic history of Murcia. Many people coming from foreign countries are passionate like me about the Spanish history. Among them there is a large group that does not master the Spanish language and has a big desire to read the history of Islamic Murcia in English. I have written this book for them so that they can familiarize themselves with the history of the region of Murcia, the town of Murcia, and its other villages.

Govert Westerveld
Hispanist

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INTRODUCTION

The province of Murcia, the only genuine palm-growing country in Europe, has a truly African climate. In the town of Murcia the annual mean temperature is 63, while the summer heat rises to 113. The air here is of astonishing dryness (mean annual humidity 60 percent), and the winter sky is noted for its unclouded blue.

The kingdom of Murcia (*el Reino de Murcia*) possesses only one important river, the *Segura*, which, with its large tributary the *Mundo*, descends from the *Sierra de Alcaraz* (5910 ft.), the *Calar del Mundo*, and the *Sagra Sierra* (7875 ft.) The 'reino serenísimo', the brightest but at the same time one of the hottest regions in Europe, owes the scantiness of its water-supply to its situation in the S.E. corner of the Iberian peninsula, where it is swept, not like the neighbouring Andalusia, by the moist W. wind from the Atlantic, but by the parching breath of the Sahara, scarcely alleviated by its short passage over the Mediterranean. The *Lebeche*, a S. wind resembling the Scirocco, sometimes covers the entire vegetable world with a thick coat of dust within a few minutes. Men and animals overtaken by it sink exhausted to the ground. The *Calina*, a kind of heat-haze, gradually steals over the whole face of the heavens. Towards the middle of July the horizon is girdled with a narrow strip of a bluish-red or brownish colour, which waxes as the heat increases. In August the upper part of the firmament also assumes a leaden-gray hue, across which the light of the stars glimmers feebly. The rising sun and moon shine red through this haze; mountains, trees, and buildings loom through it like spectres. Not till towards the close of September does the calina disappear. The abnormal climate (comp. also p. 316) explains the other remarkable phenomena of this strange land. Among these are the tree-less mountains; the sudden *avenidas* (p. 280) or floods, occasioned by heavy falls of rain at the

sources of the rivers; and the extensive *despoblados*, or deserts of hill, moor, and salt-marsh, where nothing grows except esparto grass and saltwort. The few evergreen plants are used by the inhabitants as fuel, the only alternative being the dried dung of the domestic animals. The bulk of the country is occupied by the *despoblados*. Along with them may be mentioned the so-called *Secanos*, or 'dry lands', where the want of rain in March, the 'key of the year', often destroys the entire harvest. The February rains are too early; those of April find the sprouting grain already dried up and the vines scorched. The whole agricultural wealth of the country is concentrated in the *Tierras de Regadía*, or irrigated districts. While the plateau of Albacete produces little but grain, wine, and olives, the beautiful huertas of Murcia, Totana, and Lorca are clothed with forests of orange-trees, lemon-trees, and date-palms. The valley of the Segura is also the chief centre for the culture of flowers and vegetables. Equally important sources of wealth are mining and the making of salt and soda (from the *Halogeton sativus*). The almost inexhaustible stores of lead and silver were exploited from a very early period by the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, and Romans, and at a later date, by the Moors. Resembling N. Africa in climate, vegetation, and the general conditions of existence, Murcia has been from time immemorial a favourite goal of Oriental immigration; and its present population, in spite of the expulsion of the Moriscoes, still bears a thoroughly African stamp. Murcia is the Spanish Boeotia and lags behind the other provinces of the peninsula. Hence its neighbours say of it that Adam, on his return to earth, found here his old home in unchanged condition, and that while the sky and the soil are good, all that lies between is evil (*el cielo y suelo es bueno, el entresuelo malo*).

Murcia (140 ft.), the *Medinat Mursiya* of the Moors, is the capital of the former kingdom and the present province of the same name, and has been the seat of a bishop since 1291. Pop. 31,892. It lies on both banks of the *Segura* (the *Tader* of the

ancients and the *Skehûra* of the Moors), which separates the old town, on the left, from the newer quarters, with their wide tree-shaded streets, on the right. The environs of Murcia surpass in fertility both the Vega of Granada and the Huerta of Valencia; but the mountains, which rise on all sides, are bare and barren. The Montaña. de Fuensanta (p. 317) is a beautiful feature in the view to the S. The climate of Murcia (comp. p. 281) is liable to great variation. The summer is extremely warm (maximum 120° Fahr.) and in winter ten degrees of frost are by no means unheard of. Young plants are often injured by the cold N. wind on the nights of March. The elms, planes, mulberries, and fig-trees seldom put forth their leaves before the second half of March. The city is unknown to history before its foundation by the Moors. After the fall of the caliphate of Cordova it belonged in turn to Almeria, Toledo, and Sevilla. In 1172 it fell into the hands of the Almohades (p. 369), and from 1224 to 1243 it formed an independent Moorish kingdom under ‘Abdullah el-‘Adil. In the latter year it was taken by Ferdinand III of Castile. Numerous Catalan, Aragonese, and French families then took up their abode here, and their names are still preserved. In the War of the Spanish Succession Bishop Luís de Belluga successfully defended the town against the troops of the Archduke of Austria by placing the huerta under water. From the Railway Station the Paseo del Marqués de Corbera (Pl. D, 4-6) leads to the Jardín de Floridablanca (Pl. D, 3, 4), with a monument to Jos. Moñino, Conde de floridablama (1729-1808), the minister of Charles III. The Paseo here joins the other main thoroughfares, and is continued by the Calle del Puente to the handsome stone Bridge, which crosses the Segura to the old town.

The large sunny square to the N. of the bridge is the Arenal or *Plaza de la Constitución*, enlivened on Wed. and Sat. by peasants in their gay costumes engaged in marketing. On its E. side is the *Paseo de la Glorieta*, a pleasant promenade, affording fine views of the imposing S. façades of the *Casas*

Consistoriales and the *Palacio Episcopal*. On the N. the last faces the *Plaza del Cardinal Belluga*, in which rises also the Cathedral. The Cathedral (*Santa María*), a Gothic building founded by *Bishop Peñaranda* in 1358, on the site of a mosque, was partly modernized in 1521. The effective baroque Façade was erected in the 15th cent. by *Jaime Bort*. The *North Tower* is the only one completed. The *Portada de Los Apóstoles* is late-Gothic; the *Portada de las Lágrimas* is attributed to *Berruguete*.

Interior. The aisle on both sides are flanked by series of chapels, the transept is short, and an ambulatory encircles the Capilla Mayor. The *Coro*, projecting into the nave, has stalls of the 18th cent., brought hither from another church. Above the trascoro is the large organ. — The Chapels possess many features of interest. In the *4th Chapel* of the right aisle is a fine relief of the Nativity (known as ‘The Shepherds’) by an unknown master of the Renaissance. In the *Capilla del Sagrario* is a Marriage of the Virgin by *Vicente Joanes Macip* (1516). In the *Capilla de San José* is a picture of St. Luke painting the Madonna, a fine copy of the work ascribed to Raphael at the Academy of St. Luke in Rome, and in the *Capilla del Marqués de los Vélez* is a statue of St. Jerome, by *Franc. Zarcillo*. The *Capilla del Marqués Noveldes*, richly decorated in the Gothic style, is modern except its lower portion. — The Capilla mayor is adorned with numerous statues of kings and saints. A casket in a Renaissance niche to the left contains the heart and viscera of *Alfonso the Learned*. To the right are the remains of *St. Fulgentius* and *St. Florentina*. The *High Altar* has a modern gilded retablo, with a painting of Christ elevating the Host, after the frequently recurring type of *Macip*. — The *Sacristía Mayor*, with its beautiful Renaissance portal, contains some fine wood-carvings by *Berruguete* and a custodia by *Pérez de Montalbo* (1677).

The Tower (310 ft. high) of the cathedral was completed by *Card. Mateo de Langa* (Matthias Lang, a German) in 1521, and shows the hands of various architects: *Berruguete*, *Herrera*, *Montañés*, and *Ventura Rodríguez*. It consists of several sections, diminishing in size as they ascend. The lowest story is richly decorated in the plateresque style.

Entering by the door adjoining the N. transept, we ascend at first by 18 inclined planes and then by 44 tall steps to the clock. whence an easy spiral staircase ascends to the upper story (fee to the 'Campanero', 20-25 c.). The View embraces the town und the valley of the Segura and that of the Sangonera up to Lorca; to the S., the Montaña de la Fuensanta; to the E., the cemetery and Monte Agudo. To the N.W. is the Hieronymite convent, and to the N. the plateau rises gradually to the mountains. From the Cathedral the Calle del Príncipe Alfonso, the chief business-street of Murcia (no wheeled traffic), containing many interesting balconied houses and the sumptuous Casino, leads to the N. to the spacious Plaza de Santo Domingo, which is planted with trees. About halfway the Platería, a street so narrow that carriages are excluded from it, diverges to the left. In summer it is protected against the sun by movable awnings (toldos). The celebrated *mantas* of Murcia and articles of gold and silver may be purchased at numerous shops in this street. — 'l'o the S.W. the Platería ends at the *Plaza de Monasot*, on the E. side of which stands the old church of Santa Catalina, containing some fine tombs. On the S. side is the *Contraste*, the old assay-office for weights and measures, now containing a small Museo Provincial, with pictures by *Ribera*, *Orrante*, *Bassano*, and others. Several other churches in Murcia may be mentioned. San Juan contains two busts of John the Baptist, by *Franc. Zarcillo*. — In the church of San Nicolās are a coloured group of St. Joseph and the Holy Child by *Mala* (side-chapel of the N. transept) and a coloured statuette of St. Anthony, in the dress of the Capuchins, by *Alonso Cano*; on the altar of the left transept.

— San Miguel possesses a remarkable retablo by F. Zarcillo. — The Ermita de Jesús, a round edifice beside the church of San Andres, contains a unique series of *Pasos*, or processional figures, by Francisco Zarcillo, including the Last Supper, the Agony In the Garden, the Kiss of Judas, and Christ on the way to Golgotha; apply to the majordomo.

We follow the river to the W. of the Arenal and finally ascend a flight of five stone steps to the Paseo del Malecón, the finest, though shadeless, promenade of Murcia. This, commanding a fine view, runs along the quay or river-embankment ('malecón'), which protects various groves of oranges and palms from inundations.

Excursiones. The convent of San Jerónimo, about 3 M. to the W., contains an admirable work by *Fr. Zarcillo*, representing St. Jerome with the crucifix and skull.

— The convent of Fuensanta, with its spring, is situated to the S., halfway up the mountain of its own name. It may be reached by carriage in 3/4 hr., but the road is rather rough.

— A drive to the Monte Agudo affords an excellent survey of the luxuriant vegetation of the huerta¹.

¹ **BAEDEKER, Karl** (1908). Spain and Portugal. Handbook for travellers, pp. 281, 282, 316, 317.

715-779

KINGDOM OF TUDMIR

- 715-779 Kingdom of Tudmir
- 715-741 Theodomir
- 741-779 Athanagild

715-741 Theodomir and the Kingdom of Tudmir

When we come to the year 672 a noble Goth named Wamba ascended the Spanish throne. It was in his reign that the Moors or Arabs of Mauritania first began to harass the Spanish coasts. The Chronicle of 754 records the Moors of North Africa had long raided the shores of the kingdom before the invasion. The later Chronicle of Alfonso III noted that the Muslims were a formidable enemy attempting to land in his dominions. Wamba assembled a great naval force in 672-73, attacked their fleet, and after a desperate engagement, defeated them, taking a vast number of prisoners, and it is said, no fewer than two hundred and seventy vessels of all sizes. This was the first collision between the Moors and the Visigoths. In this case, the Moors had been invited by Jewish shipping interests, out of fear that Wamba would persecute them. As we have seen Wamba defeated the Moorish fleet, and the Moors returned to raiding. They returned in force some years later, again under Jewish invitation. Again, the Visigoths repulsed the attack, but later events would bring them back, and this time to stay.

Several favourable incursions by the Arabs strengthened Mūsā Ibn Nusayr in his intention of invading Andalus; to this effect he called a freed slave of his, to whom he had on different occasions intrusted important commands in his armies, and whose name was Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād Ibn 'Abdillah, a native of Hamadān, in Persia, although some pretend that he was not a free-man of Mūsā Ibn Nusayr, but a free-born man of the tribe of Sadf, while others make him a mauli of Lahm. It is even asserted that some of his posterity who lived in Andalus rejected with indignation the supposition of their ancestor having ever been a liberated slave of Mūsā Ibn Nusayr. Some authors, and they are the greatest number, say that he was a Berber, but, as we intend to form a separate article about Ṭāriq, we shall leave the discussion of this and other points for another place, confining ourselves at present to the relation of the

historical events as we find them recorded by the best Andalusian writers. To this Ṭāriq, therefore, whether a liberated slave of Mūsā, or a freeman of the tribe of Sadf, the Arabian governor of Africa committed the important trust of conquering the kingdom of Andalus, for which end he gave him the command of an army of seven thousand men, chiefly Berbers and slaves, very few only being genuine Arabs.



**Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād Ibn 'Abdillāh,
Painting of Theodor Hoseman**

To accompany and guide Ṭāriq in this expedition Mūsā again sent Ilyān, who provided four vessels from the ports under his command, the only places on the coast where vessels were at that time built. Everything being got ready, a division of the army crossed that arm of the sea which divides Andalus from Africa, and landed with Ṭāriq at the foot of the mountain which afterwards received his name, on a Saturday, in the month of Sha'bān of the year ninety-two (July, 711), answering to the month of Agosht (August), and the four vessels were sent back, and crossed and recrossed until the rest of Ṭāriq's men were safely put on shore. It is otherwise said that Ṭāriq landed on the twenty-fourth of Rejeb (19th June, 711), in the same year. Another account makes the number of men embarked on this occasion amount to twelve thousand, all but sixteen, a number consisting almost entirely of Berbers, there being but few Arabs amongst them; but the same writer agrees that Ilyān transported this force at various times to the coast of Andalus in merchant vessels, (whence collected it is not known,) and that Ṭāriq was the last man on board.



**Image of Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād , the General who first crossed into Spain,
the place is named "Gibraltar"
Honorary currency Note in his (Tarik) name,**

Various historians have recorded two circumstances concerning Ṭāriq's passage and his landing on the coast of Andalus, which

we consider worthy of being transcribed. They say that while he was sailing across that arm of the sea which separates Africa from Andalus he saw in a dream the prophet Mohammed, surrounded by Arabs of the Muhajirîn and Anssâr, who with unsheathed swords and bended bows stood close by him, and that he heard the Prophet say, "Take" courage, O Ṭāriq! and accomplish what thou art destined to perform;" and that having looked round him he saw the messenger of God, (upon whom be the peace and salutation of his Lord!) who with his companions was entering Andalus. Ṭāriq then awoke from his sleep, and, delighted with this good omen, hastened to communicate the miraculous circumstance to his followers, who were much pleased and strengthened. Ṭāriq himself was so much struck by the apparition that from that moment he never doubted of victory. The same writers have preserved another anecdote, which sufficiently proves the mediation of the Almighty in permitting that the conquest of Andalus should be achieved by Ṭāriq. Directly after his landing on the rock Mūsā's freedman brought his forces upon the plain, and began to overrun and lay waste the neighbouring country. While he was thus employed, an old woman from Algesiras presented herself to him, and among other things told him what follows: "Thou" must know, O stranger! that I had once a husband who had the knowledge of future events; and I have repeatedly heard him say to the people of this country that a foreign general would come to this island and subject it to his arms. He described him to me as a man of prominent forehead, and such, I see, is thine; he told me also that the individual designated by the prophecy would have a black mole covered with hair on his left shoulder. Now, if thou hast such a mark on thy body, thou art undoubtedly the person intended." When Ṭāriq heard the old woman's reasoning, he immediately laid his shoulder bare, and the mark being found, as predicted, upon the left one, both he and his companions were filled with delight at the good omen.

Walis (Governors) of Al-Andalus

711-714	Mūsā ibn Nusary
714-716	Abd al-Aziz ibn Mūsā
716	Ayyub ibn Habib al-Lajmi
716-719	al-Hurr ibn al-Rahman al-Thaqafi
719-721	As-Samh ibn Malik
721	Abd al-Rahman ibn Abd Allah al-Gafiqi
721-726	Anbasa ibn Suhaym al-Kalbi
726-729	Yahya ibn Salama al-Kalbi
729	Hudayfa ibn al-Ahwas al-Qaysi
729-730	Utman ibn Abu Nisa al-Jathami
730-731	al-Haytham ibn Ubayd al-Kilabi
731	Muhammad ibn Abd Allah al-Ashshai
732-732	Abd al-Rahman ibn Abd Allah al-gafiqi
732-734	Abd al-Malik ibn Qatan al-Fihri
734-741	Ubaq ibn al-Hashshaash al-Saluli
741	Abd al-Malik ibn Qatan al-Fihri
741-743	Balsh ibn Bistr al-Qushayri
742-743	Tha'laba ibn Salama al-Amili
743-745	Abu al-Jattar al-Husam ibn Darar al-Kalbi
745-746	Tawaba ibn Salama al-Gudami
746-756	Yusuf ibn al-Rahman al-Fihri

Ibnu Hayyān's account does not materially differ from those of the historians from whom we have quoted. He agrees in saying that Ilyān, Lord of Ceuta, incited Mūsā Ibn Nusayr to make the conquest of Andalus; and that this he did out of revenge, and moved by the personal enmity and hatred he had conceived against Roderic. He makes Ṭāriq's army amount only to seven thousand, mostly Berbers, which, he says, crossed in four vessels provided by Ilyān. According to his account Ṭāriq landed on a Saturday, in the month of Sha'bān of the year ninety-two, and the vessels that brought him and his men on shore were immediately sent back to Africa, and never ceased going backwards and forwards until the whole of the army was

safely landed on the shores of Andalus. On the other side, Ibnu Khaldūn reckons the army under the orders of Ṭāriq at three hundred Arabs, and ten thousand Berbers. He says that before starting on his expedition Ṭāriq divided his army into two corps, he himself taking the command of one, and placing the other under the immediate orders of Tarif An-naja'ī. Ṭāriq, with his men, landed at the foot of the rock now called Jebalu-l-fatah (the mountain of the entrance), and which then received his name, and was called Jebal-Ṭāriq (the mountain of Ṭāriq); while his companion Tarif landed on the island afterwards called after him Jezírah-Tarif (the island of Tarif). In order to provide for the security of their respective armies, both generals selected, soon after their landing, a good encampment, which they surrounded with walls and trenches, for no sooner had the news of their landing spread than the armies of the Goths began to march against them from all quarters. The precise date of Ṭāriq's invasion has been differently stated. Some historians, as Ibnu Khaldūn, content themselves with giving the year, viz., ninety-two (beginning 28th October, 710); others have fixed the month and the day in which this memorable event is supposed to have taken place. Ibnu-l-khattīb places it on Monday, five days before the end of Rejeb (25th Rejeb) of the year ninety-two (20th June, 711); Ibnu Hayyān on a Saturday of the month of Sha'bān: others say on the twenty-fourth of Rejeb; Adh-dhobí on the eighth day of the same month. There are not wanting authors who place it at the beginning of the year ninety-three; but those who fix it in ninety-two are most in number. God only knows the truth of the case. But, to continue our narrative, no sooner did Ṭāriq set his foot in Andalus² than he was attacked by a Goth named Tudmír (Theodomir), to whom Roderic had intrusted the defence of that frontier. Theodomir, who is the same general who afterwards gave his name to a province of Andalus, called Belād Tuadmír (the

² **WOLF, Kenneth B.** (1999). *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, Rev. Ed. (Liverpool).

COLLINS, R. (1989). *The Arab Conquest of Spain*, Oxford.

country of Theodomir), having tried, although in vain, to stop the impetuous career of Ṭāriq's men, dispatched immediately a messenger to his master, apprising him how Ṭāriq and his followers had landed in Andalus. He also wrote him a letter, thus conceived:— "This our land has been invaded by people whose name, country, and origin are unknown to me. I cannot even tell thee whence they came, whether they fell from the skies, or sprang from the earth."

When this news reached Roderic, who was then in the country of the Bashkans (Basques), making war in the territory of Banbilónah (Pamplona), where serious disturbances had occurred, he guessed directly that the blow came from Ilyān. Sensible; however, of the importance of this attack made upon his dominions, he left what he had in hand, and, moving towards the south with the whole of his powerful army, arrived in Cordova, which is placed in the centre of Andalus. There he took up his abode in the royal castle, which the Arabs called after him Roderic's Castle. In this palace Roderic took up his residence for a few days, to await the arrival of the numerous troops which he had summoned from the different provinces of his kingdom. They say that while he was staying in Cordova he wrote to the sons of Wittiza to come and join him against the common enemy; for although it is true, as we have already related, that Roderic had usurped the throne of their father and persecuted the sons, yet he had spared their lives;—since these two sons of Wittiza are the same who, when Ṭāriq attacked the forces of King Roderic on the plains of Guadalete, near the sea, turned back and deserted their ranks, owing to a promise made them by Ṭāriq to restore them to the throne of their father if they helped him against Roderic. However, when Roderic arrived in Cordova, the sons of Wittiza were busily engaged in some distant province collecting troops to march against the invaders, and he wrote to them to come and join him with their forces, in order to march together against the Arabs; and, cautioning them against the inconvenience and danger of

private feuds at that moment, engaged them to join him and attack the Arabs in one mass.



**King Don Rodrigo haranguing his troops at the Battle of Guadalete
Painting of Bernardo Blanco y Pérez, 1871**

The sons of Wittiza readily agreed to Roderic's proposition, and collecting all their forces came to meet him, and encamped not far from the village of Shakandah, on the opposite side of the river, and on the south of the palace of Cordova. There they remained for some time, not daring to enter the capital or to trust Roderic, until at last, having ascertained the truth of the preparations, and seeing the army march out of the city and him with it, they entered Cordova, united their forces to his, and marched with him against the enemy, although, as will be seen presently, they were already planning the treachery which they afterwards committed. Others say that the sons of Wittiza did not obey the summons sent them by the usurper Roderic; on the

contrary, that they joined Ṭāriq with all their forces: but which of these reports is the true one God only knows. However, it seems to have been ascertained that all the princes of the Goths came to join Roderic in this expedition, although it is equally true that he was deserted by some of his noblemen on the field of battle. But much obscurity prevails in the writings of the historians who have recorded the events of those early times. Even the name of the Gothic monarch at the time of Ṭāriq's invasion has been spelt in different ways, for we find it written thus,- Rudheric, and Ludheric; although the latter is more commonly used. It is also stated that he was a descendant from Isbahān (Hispan); but this is contrary to the accounts of Ibnu Hayyān and others, who say that he was not of royal blood.



The Battle of Guadalete
Painting of Salvador Martínez Cubells (1845–1914)

When Ṭāriq received the news of the approach of Roderic's army, which is said to have amounted to nearly one hundred

thousand men, provided with all kinds of weapons and military stores, he wrote to Mūsā for assistance, saying that he had taken Algesiras, a port of Andalus, thus becoming by its possession the master of the passage into that country; that he had subdued its districts as far as the bay; but that Roderic was now advancing against him with a force which it was not in his power to resist, except it was God Almighty's will that it should be so. Mūsā, who since Ṭāriq's departure for this expedition had been employed in building ships, and had by this time collected a great many, sent by them a reinforcement of five thousand Moslems, which, added to the seven thousand of the first expedition, made the whole forces amount to twelve thousand men, eager for plunder and anxious for battle. Ilyān, Lord of Ceuta, who had become a tributary of the Moslems, was also sent with his army and the people of his states to accompany this expedition, and to guide it through the passes in the country, and gather intelligence for them. In the meanwhile Roderic was drawing nearer to the Moslems, with all the forces of the barbarians, their lords, their knights, and their bishops; but the hearts of the great people of the kingdom being against him, they used to see each other frequently, and in their private conversations they uttered their sentiments about Roderic in the following manner: "This wretch has by force taken possession of the throne to which he is not justly entitled, for not only he does not belong to the royal family, but he was once one of our meanest menials; we do not know how far he may carry his wicked intentions against us. There is no doubt but that Ṭāriq's followers do not intend to settle in this country; their only wish is to fill their hands with spoil and then return. Let us then, as soon as the battle is engaged, give way, and leave the usurper alone to fight the strangers, who will soon deliver us from him; and, when they shall be gone, we can place on the throne him who most deserves it." In these sentiments all agreed, and it was decided that the proposed plan should be put into execution; the two sons of Wittiza, whom Roderic had appointed to the command of the right and left wings of his

army, being at the head of the conspiracy, in the hope of gaining the throne of their father. When the armies drew nearer to each other, the princes began to spin the web of their treason; and for this purpose a messenger was sent by them to Ṭāriq, informing him how Roderic, who had been a mere menial and servant to their father, had, after his death, usurped the throne; that the princes had by no means relinquished their rights, and that they implored protection and security for themselves. They offered to desert, and pass over to Ṭāriq with the troops under their command, on condition that the Arab general would, after subduing the whole of Andalus, secure to them all their father's possessions, amounting to three thousand valuable and chosen farms, the same that received after this the name of *Safāyā-l-molūk* (the royal portion).



The afternoon prayer
Picture of F. Roubaud

This offer Ṭāriq accepted; and, having agreed to the conditions, on the next day the sons of Wittiza deserted the ranks of the Gothic army in the midst of battle, and passed over to Ṭāriq, this being no doubt one of the principal causes of the conquest.

Roderic arrived on the banks of the Guadalete (Wādī-Lek) with a formidable army, which most historians compute at one hundred thousand, although Ibnu Khaldūn makes it amount to forty thousand men only. Roderic brought all his treasures and military stores in carts: he himself came in a litter, placed between two mules, having over his head an awning richly set with pearls, rubies, and emeralds. On the approach of this formidable tempest the Moslems did not lose courage, but prepared to meet their adversary. Tāriq assembled his men, comforted them by his words, and after rendering the due praises to the Almighty God, and returning thanks for what had already been accomplished, proceeded to implore his mighty help for the future. He then encouraged the Moslems, and kindled their enthusiasm with the following address.—“Whether can you fly,—the enemy is in your front, the sea at your back? By Allah! there is no salvation for you but in your courage and perseverances. Consider your situation;—here you are on this island like so many orphans cast upon the world; you will soon be met by a powerful enemy, surrounding you on all sides like the infuriated billows of a tempestuous sea, and sending against you his countless warriors, drowned in steel, and provided with every store and description of arms. What can you oppose to them? You have no other weapons than your swords, no provisions but those that you may snatch from the hands of your enemies; you must therefore attack them immediately, or otherwise your wants will increase, the gales of victory may no longer blow in your favour, and perchance the fear that lurks in the hearts of your enemies may be changed into indomitable courage. Banish all fear from your hearts, trust that victory shall be ours, and that the baibarian king will not be able to withstand the shock of our arms. Here he comes to make us the masters of his cities and castles, and to deliver into our hands his countless treasures; and if you only seize the opportunity now presented, it may perhaps be the means of your becoming the owners of them, besides saving yourselves from certain death. Do not think that I impose upon you a task from

which I shrink myself, or that I try to conceal from you the dangers attending this expedition. No: you have certainly a great deal to encounter, but know that if you only suffer for awhile, you will reap in the end an abundant harvest of pleasures and enjoyments. And do not imagine that while I speak to you I mean not to act as I speak, for as my interest in this affair is greater, so will my behaviour on this occasion surpass yours. You must have heard numerous accounts of this island, you must know how the Grecian maidens, as handsome as Huris, their necks glittering with innumerable pearls and jewels, their bodies clothed with tunics of costly silks sprinkled with gold, are waiting your arrival, reclining on soft couches in the sumptuous palaces of crowned lords and princes. You know well that the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibnu-l-walid has chosen you, like so many heroes, from among the brave; you know that the great lords of this island are willing to make you their sons and brethren by marriage, if you only rush on like so many brave men to the fight, and behave like true champions and valiant knights; you know that the recompenses of God await you if you are prepared to uphold his words, and proclaim his religion in this island; and, lastly, that all the spoil shall be yours, and of such Moslems as may be with you. Bear in mind that God Almighty will select, according to this promise, those that distinguish themselves most among you, and grant them due reward, both in this world and in the future; and know likewise that I shall be the first to set you the example, and to put in practice what I recommend you to do; for it is my intention, on the meeting of the two hosts, to attack the Christian tyrant Roderic and kill him with my own hand, if God be pleased. When you see me bearing against him, charge along with me; if I kill him, the Victory is ours; if I am killed before I reach him, do not trouble yourselves about me, but fight as if I were still alive and among you, and follow up my purpose; for the moment they see their king fall, these barbarians are sure to disperse. If, however, I should be killed, after inflicting death upon their king, appoint a man from among you who unites

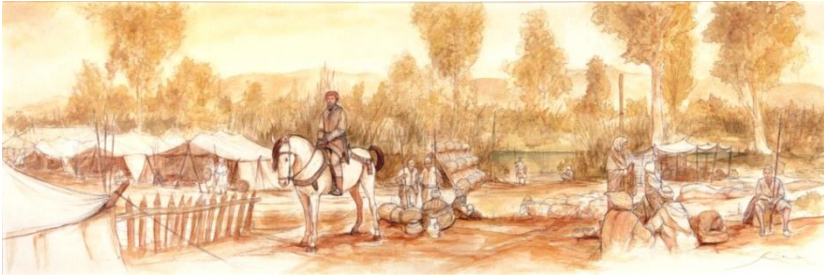
both courage and experience, and may command you in this emergency, and follow up the success. If you attend to my instructions, we are sure of the victory.”



Peddler
Drawing of J. Seymour

When Ṭāriq had thus addressed his Soldiers, and exhorted them to fight with courage, and to face the dangers of war with a stout heart,—when he had thus recommended them to make a simultaneous attack upon Roderic’s men, and promised them

abundant reward if they routed their enemies,—their countenances were suddenly expanded with joy, their hopes were strengthened, the gales of victory began to blow on their side, and they all unanimously answered him— “We are ready to follow thee, O Ṭāriq! we shall all, to one man, stand by thee, and fight for thee; nor could we avoid it were we otherwise disposed-victory is our only hope of salvation.”



Campamento Omeya (Juan Navarro Lorente)
<http://www.navarroilustracion.com>

After this Ṭāriq mounted his horse, and his men did the same; and they all passed that night in constant watch for fear of the enemy. On the following morning, when day dawned, both armies prepared for battle; each general formed his cavalry and his infantry, and, the signal being given, the armies met with a shock similar to that of two mountains dashing against each other. King Roderic came borne on a throne, and having over his head an awning of variegated silk to guard him from the rays of the sun, surrounded by warriors cased in bright steel, with fluttering pennons, and a profusion of banners and standards. Ṭāriq’s men were differently arrayed; their breasts were covered with mail armour, they wore white turbans on their heads, the Arabian bow slung across their backs, their swords suspended to their girdles, and their long spears firmly grasped in their hands. They say that when the two armies were advancing upon each other, and the eyes of Roderic fell upon

the men in the first ranks, he was horrorstruck, and was heard to exclaim,—“By the faith of the Messiah! These are the very men I saw painted on the scroll found in the mansion of science at Toledo,” and from that moment fear entered his heart; and when Ṭāriq perceived Roderic he said to his followers, “This is the King of the Christians,” and he charged with his men, the warriors who surrounded Roderic being on all sides scattered and dispersed; seeing which, Ṭāriq plunged into the ranks of the enemy until he reached the king, and wounded him with his sword on the head and killed him on his throne; and when Roderic’s men saw their king fall and his body guard dispersed, the rout became general and victory remained to the Moslems. The rout of the Christians was complete, for instead of rallying on one spot they fled in all directions, and, their panic being communicated to their countrymen, cities opened their gates, and castles surrendered without resistance.

The preceding account we have borrowed from a writer of great note, but we deem it necessary to warn the readers that the assertion that Roderic died by the hands of Ṭāriq has been contradicted by several historians, since his body, although diligently sought on the field of battle, could nowhere be found. We shall proceed to recount in detail that memorable battle, when Almighty God was pleased to put King Roderic’s army to flight, and grant the Moslems a most complete victory. Several authors who have described at large this famous engagement state that Ṭāriq encamped near Roderic, towards the middle of the month of Ramadhān of the year ninety-two (Sept. A.D. 711), and although there is some difference as to the dates, all agree that the battle was fought on the banks of the Wādaleke (Guadalete), in the district of Shidhūnah. They say also that while both armies were encamped in front of each other, the barbarian king, wishing to ascertain the exact amount of Ṭāriq’s forces, sent one of his men, whose valour and strength he knew, and in whose fidelity he placed unbounded confidence, with instructions to penetrate into Ṭāriq’s camp and

bring him an account of their number, arms, accoutrements, and vessels. The Christian proceeded to execute his commission, and reached a small elevation whence he had a commanding view of the whole camp. However, he had not remained long in his place of observation before he was discovered by some Moslems, who pursued him, but the Christian fled before them and escaped through the swiftness of his horse. Arrived at the Christian camp he addressed Roderic in the following words. "These people, O King! are the same thou sawest painted on the scroll of the enchanted palace. Beware of them! for the greatest part of them have bound themselves by oath to reach thee or die in the attempt; they have set fire to their vessels, to destroy their last hope of escape; they are encamped along the sea shore, determined to die or to vanquish, for they know well that there is not in this country a place whither they can fly." On hearing this account King Roderic was much disheartened, and he trembled with fear. However, the two armies engaged near the lake or gulf; they fought resolutely on both sides till the right and left wings of Roderic's army, under the command of the sons of Wittiza, gave way. The centre, in which Roderic was, still held firm for awhile, and made the fate of the battle uncertain for some time; they fled at last, and Roderic before them. From that moment the rout became general, and the Moslems followed with ardour the pursuit of the scattered bands, inflicting death wherever they went.



King Roderic
Painting of Mariano de la Roca y Delgado, 1853

Roderic disappeared in the midst of the battle, and no certain intelligence was afterwards received of him; it is true that some Moslems found his favourite steed, a milk-white horse, bearing a saddle of gold sparkling with rubies, plunged in the mud of the river, as also one of his sandals, adorned with rubies and emeralds, but the other was never found; nor was Roderic, although diligently searched for, ever discovered either dead or alive, a circumstance which led the Moslems to believe that he perished in the stream; indeed there are not wanting authors who give it as certain that he died in this manner, and that, while trying to cross the stream, the weight of his armour prevented him from struggling against the current, and he was drowned; but God only knows what became of him.

According to Ar-rāzi, the contest began on a Sunday, two days before the end of Ramadhān, and continued till Sunday, the fifth of Shawāl, namely, eight whole days, at the end of which God Almighty was pleased to put the idolaters to flight and grant the victory to the Moslems; and he adds, that so great was the number of the Goths who perished in the battle, that for a long time after the victory the bones of the slain were to be seen covering the field of action. They say also that the spoil found by the Moslems in the camp of the Christians surpassed all computation, for the princes and great men of the Goths who had fallen were distinguished by the rings of gold they wore on their fingers, those of an inferior class by similar ornaments of silver, while those of the slaves were made of brass. Ṭāriq collected all the spoil and divided it into five shares or portions, when, after deducting one-fifth, he distributed the rest amongst nine thousand Moslems, besides the slaves and followers. When the people on the other side of the straits heard of this success of Ṭāriq, and of the plentiful spoils he had acquired, they flocked to him from all quarters, and crossed the sea on every vessel or bark they could lay hold of.



Receiving the Favorite (Picture of Francisco Belda)

Ṭāriq's army being so considerably reinforced, the Christians were obliged to shut themselves up in their castles and fortresses, and, quitting the flat country, betake themselves to their mountains. Ṭāriq first marched against Sidonia, which he besieged and took by force after the garrison had defended it some time. In this city Ṭāriq found considerable spoil. From Sidonia he proceeded to Moror, whence he turned towards Carmona, and, passing by a fountain which afterwards received his name, he invested that city, which surrendered to him immediately, the inhabitants agreeing to pay tribute. He next encamped before Exija, and besieged it. The inhabitants being numerous and brave, and having with them some remnants of Roderids army, made at first a desperate defence; but after a severe battle, in which a great many Moslems were killed or wounded, it pleased Almighty God to grant them victory, and the idolaters were put to rout and dispersed. No battle was afterwards fought in which the Moslems had so much to suffer, for the Christians defended themselves with the utmost vigour and resolution, and great was the havoc which they made in the ranks of the faithful. However, the Almighty permitted that Ṭāriq should notice the governor, a crafty man, much experienced in battle, leave the town and take, without attendants, the road to the river for the purpose of bathing. Ṭāriq did not know who he was, but, judging by his arms and his steed, he thought he might be some person of distinction. No sooner was he aware of it, than, impelled by his adventurous humour, he took the same direction, repaired to the river, feigned a purpose similar to that of the barbarian, and, jumping into the water, made him his prisoner; he then conducted him to his camp, where the barbarian discovered himself, and said he was the governor of the city, upon which the Arab general granted him peace on the usual terms of paying tribute, and dismissed him free to return to the city, where, as soon as he was returned, he fulfilled his word by surrendering it to the Arabs.

In the meanwhile God filled with terror and alarm the hearts of the idolaters, and their consternation was greatly increased when they saw Ṭāriq penetrate far into their country; for, as we have said elsewhere, they were under a belief that his object in the attack was only to gain spoil and then return to his country. When, therefore, they saw Ṭāriq advance to further conquests they were seized with despair, and, abandoning the flat country, fled to the mountains, or betook themselves to their strong castles; a few only of the principal people repaired to the capital, Toledo, with the intention of holding out resistance within its walls. It is said that Ṭāriq, too, endeavoured to increase the terror of the Christians by means of the following stratagem :—he directed his men to cook the flesh of the slain in presence of the Gothic captives in his camp, and when the flesh had thus been cooked in large copper vessels he ordered it to be cut up, as if it were to be distributed to his men for their meals; he also allowed some of the captives to escape, that they might report to their countrymen what they had seen. And thus the stratagem produced the desired effect, since the report of the fugitives contributed in no small degree to increase the panic of the infidels. After this they say that Ilyān addressed Ṭāriq in the following words:—“Since thy enemies are panic-struck, and their armies dispersed, proceed to their capital, and destroy them before they have time to collect their forces again. Take expert guides from among my people; divide thy army into bodies, and send them to different parts of the country, and, if thou follow my advice, thou wilt thyself take a division of it and march towards Toledo, where their great men are by this time assembled to deliberate upon their affairs, and unite under a chief of their choosing.’ Ṭāriq assented immediately to the advice given by Ilyān, but, before leaving Ezija, he dispatched Mugheyth Ar-rūmī (the Greek), a freedman of the Sultān Al-walīd, son of ‘Abdu-l-malek, with seven hundred horses; for the Moslems by this time were all, without exception, mounted on horses taken from the barbarians, and had even some remaining.



**Praying before the battle
Picture of Domingo Morelli**

Mugheyth's instructions were to attack Cordova, one of their principal cities. Tāriq sent another division of his army against Malaga, and a third against Gharnattā, the town of Al-bírah (Elvira), while he himself, at the head of the main body, hastened towards Toledo by way of Jaen: some authors pretend that Tāriq himself went to Cordova, and not Mugheyth, but the former account is the most certain. However, those who follow the first opinion relate the affair in the following manner. They say that Mugheyth's army, having arrived close to Cordova, encamped in a forest of lofty pines on the bank of the river of Shakandah. Having soon after his arrival at the spot sent out his scouts to gain if possible a knowledge of the country, these soon returned with a shepherd, who, being interrogated about Cordova, informed Mugheyth that the principal people of the city had quitted it and gone to Toledo, but that a governor had been left behind with a garrison of four hundred horsemen, besides the invalids and old soldiers. The Shepherd being further questioned respecting the walls of the city said that they were strong and high, but that there was a breach in them, which he described. Accordingly, no sooner were the Moslems enveloped in the shadows of night than they set off towards the city, and approached its walls, where God Almighty opened to

them the means of success, by sending a providential fall of hail, which prevented the stepping of the horses from being heard. The Moslems proceeded gently and unnoticed till they arrived on the banks of the river, which they crossed, finding themselves then at a distance of only thirty cubits, or perhaps less, from the walls. Owing to the squalls of rain, and the cold of the night, the sentries, neglecting their duties, were not on the walls keeping guard, a circumstance which allowed the Moslems to arrive unheard and unmolested at the foot of the battlements; they then attempted to scale the walls, but failed in their attempt by not finding a place to fix the ladders. In this difficulty they returned to the shepherd, and asked him to lead them to the breach he had mentioned; this the man did, but it was also found upon trial not to be of easy ascent. However, this was after some time obtained by means of a fig tree, growing close to the walls, the branches of which afforded the means of ascending. One of their strongest men mounted the tree, whence he succeeded in gaining the top of the breach. Mugheyth then unfolded his turban, and gave one end of it to the man, who by means of it succeeded in helping others on until a considerable number of Moslems gained the summit of the wall. Mugheyth, who remained on horseback at the foot of the battlements, then commanded the assailant party to rush upon the guard within the city. This order was quickly obeyed by the Moslems, who surprised and killed many of the garrison, and, breaking open the gate, let in Mugheyth and the rest of his men, who soon got possession of the city. This being done, Mugheyth, with his guides, hastened towards the palace of the governor, who, having received intelligence of the entry of the Moslems, fled with his guards, four hundred in number, and betook himself to a church situated at the west of the city, and fortified himself in it. As water was conveyed under ground to this church from a spring at the foot of a neighbouring mountain, the besieged defended themselves some time against Mugheyth, who nevertheless ruled in the city and its environs. The same authors, namely, those who pretend that Ṭāriq was

not present at the taking of Cordova, and that this exploit was achieved singly by Mugheyth, state that this latter general, after writing to Ṭāriq to apprise him of his victory, continued to besiege the Christians shut up in the church. After three months of siege, seeing that he could not reduce them, Mugheyth began to grow impatient and melancholy, and thought of devising some stratagem that might make him master of the fortress. He then called before him one of his black slaves, whose name was Kabah, a man of tried courage and fortitude, and directed him to hide himself at night in a garden covered with trees that lay close to the church, to try if he could not by chance lay hold of some barbarian, who might inform him of the state of the garrison. The black man did as he was ordered, but being a stupid fellow he soon committed himself; for as it was then the season for the trees to bear fruit, and the place was covered with them, he mounted one in order to gather some fruit, and eat of it. While he was thus perched in the tree he was discovered by the people of the church, who, coming to spot, made him get down, and having secured him took him prisoner inside. Great was the fright, and at the same time the astonishment, which the sight of the black man caused to the Christians, for they had never seen a man of his colour before; they surrounded him on every side, they gazed at him with astonishment, and thinking he was painted or dyed with some substance that made him look black, they rushed along, he in the midst of them, towards the subterranean conduit by means of which the garrison was supplied with water; and there they began washing and scraping him with water and a hard brush till the black man, unable to endure the operation any longer, begged them to desist, and explained to them that he was a human creature like themselves; which being understood by them they left off washing him, although they still continued to stare at him as a thing they had never seen before.



Painting of Alberto Pasini

However, after seven days' imprisonment, during which the Christians never ceased coming round him and looking at him, the Almighty permitted that one night this black man should effect his escape, and arrive safe at the camp of the Amír Mugheyth, to whom he related his adventures, informing him at the same time of the result of his observations, as well as of the direction of the subterranean conduit which supplied the

garrison with water. Immediately after Mugheyth summoned before him some expert people, who looked for the conduit in the place pointed out by the black man, and, having found it, succeeded in stopping it; the church was from that moment deprived of water, and its garrison doomed to death. Notwithstanding this loss, and that the besieged had no hopes of deliverance, they were so obstinate that when safety was offered to them upon condition either of embracing the Mohammedan religion, or paying tribute, they refused to surrender, and the church being set on fire they all perished in the flames. This was the cause of the spot being called ever since *Kenísatu-l-harakí* (the church of the burning), as likewise of the great veneration in which it has always been held by the Christians, on account of the courage and endurance displayed in the cause of their religion by the people who died in it. Their commander, however, did not share their fate, for, when he perceived that the case was desperate, and saw that he and his followers were doomed to certain death, he abandoned his comrades to their fate and escaped towards Toledo. But Mugheyth, being informed of it, galloped off immediately in pursuit of him, and overtook him near the village of Talavera. They say that the barbarian rode a black steed, a noble and swif animal, and that when he saw Mugheyth close at his heels he was terrified and spurred his horse, but the beast gave a start and threw him down. When Mugheyth came up he found him stunned by the fall and lying on his shield as if he were dead, seeing which he took possession of his arms and made him prisoner. This feat of arms of Mugheyth is differently related by the historians. They all agree, it is true, in the taking of the church after a considerable resistance, and the flight and capture of the governor, but some relate this event as having happened before, not after, the reduction of the fortified church, and say that after taking the governor prisoner Mugheyth invested the building where the Christians had taken refuge, and, having reduced it, put every one of them to the sword: the same historians asserting that the church was called ever since *Kenísatu-l-asraí*

(the church of the captives). Be this as it may, certain it is that Mugheyth made the governor of Cordova prisoner, and spared his life with the intention of presenting him to the Khalif Alwalíd on his return to the East, this Christian being the only captive of the royal blood of the Goths taken at the time of the conquest, the rest having either surrendered on terms which secured them their liberty or escaped to Galicia. However, as we shall presently see, Mugheyth was not able to accomplish his purpose, for some time afterwards a dispute having arisen between him and Mūsā as to whose province it was to present the royal captive to the Khalif, the latter, seeing that he could not prevail upon Mugheyth to relinquish his prize, slew the Gothic slave in the very presence of his master. After the taking of Cordova, Mugheyth assembled all the Jews in the city and left them in charge of it, trusting them in preference to the Christians, on account of their hatred and animosity towards the latter. He then fixed his abode in the palace, and left the rest of the town to be inhabited by the Moslems. In the meanwhile the forces that proceeded against Malaga took possession of that town, the barbarians flying for refuge to the neighbouring mountains. After this they joined the army dispatched to Elvira, and laying siege to its city, Gharnāttah, took it by storm. The citadel of this latter place they intrusted to the care of the Jews, and this practice became almost general in the succeeding years; for whenever the Moslems conquered a town, it was left in custody of the Jews, with only a few Moslems, the rest of the army proceeding to new conquests, and where Jews were deficient a proportionally greater body of Moslems was left in charge. This plan was equally adopted with regard to the district of Rayah, to which Malaga belonged.

After the subjection of these two cities, the army proceeded on to Tudmír, a country so called after its king (Theodomir), and the citadel of which was Ouriwwélah (Orihuela), a place renowned for its strength. This King Tudmír (Theodomir) was a man of great experience and judgment, who for a length of time

defended his states valiantly. But at last, having ventured a battle in the open country³, he was completely defeated, and most of his men slain, himself and a few followers only succeeding in gaining Orihuela. When safe inside the town, he ordered the women to let their hair loose, to arm themselves with bows, and to appear on the walls as if they were so many warriors prepared for battle, he himself, with his scanty followers, standing in front, with a view to deceive the Moslems with regard to the real strength of the garrison. In this stratagem he, succeeded, for the Moslems, overrating his forces by the numbers they saw on the walls, offered him peace, and Theodomir, feigning to accept of it, repaired in disguise to the camp of the Moslems; and there, as if he were a deputy from his own people, he first treated for the security of the inhabitants, and afterwards for his own. When he had brought the Moslems to grant him the terms which he wished for, he made himself known to them, giving as an excuse for his stratagem the great love he had for his subjects, and his ardent wish of obtaining for them a favourable capitulation. He then guided them into the town, according to the treaty agreed upon, but when the Moslems saw that there were in it only women and children, they were very much ashamed of themselves, and mortified at having been deceived. They, however, observed faithfully the terms of the treaty, as it was their custom to do on every occasion; so that the district of Tudmír, by the artifice of its king, was freed from the invasions of the Moslems, and the whole of its towns and villages were comprised in the same capitulation⁴.

³ Arabic sources do not agree

⁴ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1840). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dín Ibni-l-khattib* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Makkarí; translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume I, pp. 265-281.

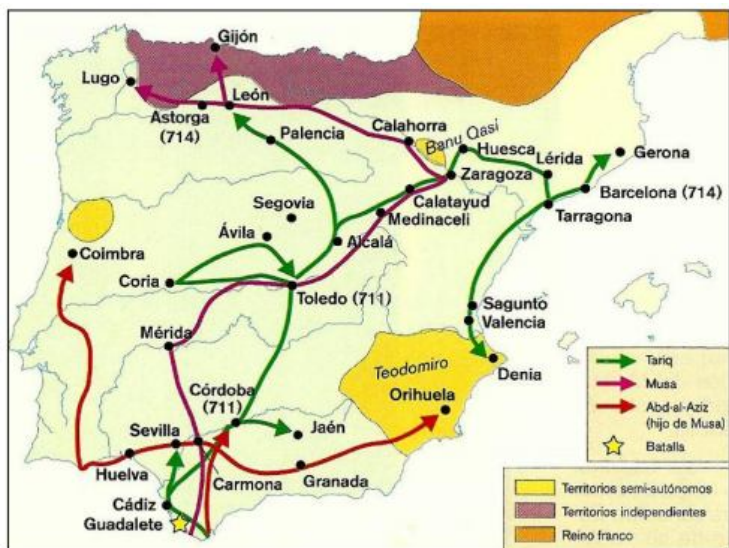
The treaty of Orihuela

The original of the treaty is preserved in the library of the Escorial. It is written in Arabic with Latin translation. This state paper will give an idea of the morality and loyalty of those times⁵.

Articles of peace, covenanted and sworn between Abdelazis (Abd al-Aziz), the son of Mūsā, the son of Nassir and Theomir, prince of the Goths.

In the name of the merciful God Abdelazis makes peace and stipulates that Theodemir will not be disturbed in his principality; that no attempt will be made against his life, property, wives, children, religion, or the Christian churches; that Theodemir will deliver up the seven towns of Orihuella, Valentola, Alicante, Mola (now Mula), Vacasora, Bigerra (now Bejar), Ora (or Opta), and Lorca; that he will not succour nor receive the enemies of the Caliph, but that he will communicate faithfully what he will know of their hostile intentions; that he will pay yearly, as well as every Goth of a noble family, one piece of gold, four measures of wheat, four of harley, a certain quantity of honey, oil, and vinegar, and that the tax upon each of their vassals will be half of this contribution. Done the 4th of Regeb. in the 94th year of the Hegira, (which corresponds to 5 April, 715). Signed by four Muslims as witnesses.

⁵ **LABORDE, Alexander de** (1809) *A View of Spain*; comprising a descriptive itinerary of each province. In five volumes. Vol. II, London, pp. 155-156



As explained before, Theodemir resisted the invaders in his county and managed to sign an advantageous treaty with them. This treaty was in force in seven major cities: Orihuela, Alicante⁶, Villena, Elche, Mula, Begastri (Beqasru/Buqasra close to Cehegin), and Lorca.

Alcudia (near Elche)

The ruins of Alcudia belong to the Illicitan Episcopal sea and the Madinat Ils mentioned in the version of al-'Udri of the Treaty of Orihuela, slowly abandoned after the conquest for the benefit of the new Ils located on the site of the current city of Elche dating from the second half of the tenth century. This date suggests a certain continuity of the sighting of Alcudia in the early centuries of Islamic presence⁷.

⁶ **RAMOS HIDALGO, Antonio** (1983) Alicante: una ciudad de la Cora de Tudmir. In: *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, N° 2, pp. 7-18

⁷ **GUTIÉRREZ, Sonia** (1996) La Cora de Tudmîr de la antigüedad tardía al mundo islámico. Madrid, p. 344

Theodomir agreed to pay an annual tribute and not cooperate with the enemies of Muslims. In exchange he could maintain his county semi-independent and keep his religion, laws, and land. In fact, this kind of treaties was frequent. The Muslims managed to control new territories through them by keeping existing power structures. Local aristocracy usually converted to Islam, which did not happen here.

According to García Anton one has to take into account that there are three versions of the treaty⁸. One from the 9th century is in the work *Buyiat-al-mutamis* written by al-Dabbī that can be found in the Biblioteca of El Escorial. Another one is from the 15th century written by al-Himyari in the work *Rawd al-mi'tar*, and the latest one from the 11th century is written by al-Udri in his work *Tarsi al-ajbar*. Not all the cities in these three versions are the same.

Luckily today we have more information about the treaty thanks to the research of various Arabists. For knowing the exact pronunciation of the various places we have to read the study of Pocklington who stated among other texts⁹:

⁸ **GARCIA ANTÓN, José** (1981) *Los árabes en Murcia, siglo viii* and *La región de Murcia en tiempos del Islam*, both in: *Historia de la región murciana*, vol. III, Ediciones Mediterráneo, Murcia.

More important up-to-date literature about this treaty can be found in:

MOLINA LÓPEZ, E. & PEZZI DE VIDAL, Elena (1975) *Ultimas aportaciones al estudio de la cora de Tudmir (Murcia). Precisiones y rectificaciones*. In: *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, 7, pp. 83-109

CATALÁN, D. & ANDRES, María S. de (1975) *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, p. 359

CARMONA, Alfonso (1992) *Una cuarta versión de la Capitulación de Tudmir*. In: *Sharq al-Andalus*, 9, pp. 11-17

CARMONA, Alfonso (2008) *Lorca y la formación de Tudmir*. In: *Clavis* N° 4-5, pp. 23-32

⁹ **POCKLINGTON, Robert** (1987) *El emplazamiento de Iyi(h)*. In: *Sharq al-Andalus*, IV, Alicante, pp. 175-198

Al-'Udri¹⁰ (d. 1085) text provides the greatest assurance of reliability. Besides being his version of the treaty the oldest of all we have at our disposal it seems almost certain that the preserved manuscript is the autographic one. The complete vocalization of all lesser known place names shows that the author knew very well how they were pronounced.

Al-'Udri¹¹ (D. 1085) provides the biggest guarantee of reliability. Beside his version of *Treaty* being the oldest of all those at our disposal it seems almost certain that the preserved manuscript is the autograph. The complete vocalization of all less known names of places shows that the author knew very well how they were pronounced.

The list of the villages of the treaty was taken by Ibn al-Jarrat¹² (1298-1359) of a part, now lost, of the genealogical work of al-Rusati (d. 1147) where the entire treaty was transcribed. Al-Dabbi (d. 1200) and al-Garnati also took their versions of the treaty from al-Rusati. In a recent work we have defended the hypothesis that al-Rusati would copy his version of the Treaty of Orihuela from an original manuscript or copy preserved forever in Murcia.

Al-Dabbi (d. 1200) took the version of the Treaty of Orihuela of al-Rusati. On the other hand the version of the Treaty of Orihuela that al-Garâti included in his comentrio of the *Qasîda Maqsûra de Hazîm al-Qartâyannî* was discovered by Alfonso Carmona¹³.

¹⁰ AHMAD B. 'UMAR AL 'UDHRÎ, *Fragmentos geográficos-históricos*, ed. 'A. al-Ahwâni, Madrid 1965, p. 5.

¹¹ AHMAD B. 'UMAR AL 'UDHRÎ, *Fragmentos geográficos-históricos*, ed. 'A. al-Ahwâni, Madrid 1965, p. 5

¹² AL-RUSATÎ, ABÛ MUHAMMAD E IBN AL-JARRÂT AL-ISBÎLÎ (1990) *Al-Andalus en el Kitâb iqtibâs al-anwâr y en el Ijtisâr iqtibâs al-anwâr*, ed. Emilio Molina López y Jacinto Bosch Vilá.

¹³ version that appears in the work of Abû l-Qâsim Muhamad aş-Šarîf al-Garnâtî: *Kitâb Raf' al-hugûb al-mastûra fî mahâsin al-Maqsûra*. Se trata de uno de los comentarios que recibió la célebre *Al-Qasîda al-Maqsûra* de Hâzim al Qartâgannî (El de Cartagena 1297-1359). See: **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1992) *La capitulación de Teodomiro*. In: Sharq Al Andalus 9, pp. 11-17

Al-Himyari¹⁴ (XIV-XV century) has the same version of the treaty that is found in al-Dabbi and al-Garāfi¹⁵.



Cities in the treaty of Tudmir¹⁶

Alfonso Carmona gives us full information about the lost work of ar-Rāzi¹⁷ called *Ahbār Mulūk al-Andalus*, whose material

¹⁴ **PROVENÇAL, E. Lévi** (1938) *La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Age d'après le Kitāb ar-Rawd al-mitar d'Ibn Abd al-Mun'im al-Himayari* (Leiden, E. J. Brill)

AL-HIMYARI (1980) *Al-Rawd al-mi'tār fī jabar al-aqtār*. Librairie du Liban/Nasser Foundation for Culture, Beirut

¹⁵ Research of Alfonso Carmona and Robert Pocklington that was never published.

¹⁶ **MUNUERA NAVARRO, David** (2010). *Musulmanes y Cristianos en el Mediterráneo. La costa del surest Peninsular durante la Edad Media (ss. VIII-XVI)*. Tesis doctoral. Departamento de Prehistoria, Arqueología, Historia antigua, Historia Medieval y Ciencias y Técnicas historiográficas. Universidad de Murcia, p. 100.

was used for the redaction of *La Crónica* of 1344. In it we find the Treaty of Orihuela in Spanish, as well as in the version of *La Crónica del Moro Rasis* by Gabriel Rodríguez de Escabías who added diverse materials known as the *Manuscript of Copenhagen*.



Orihuela painted by Trevor Haddon¹⁸

The work of this Arab historian, certainly written in the tenth century, was translated in the fourteenth century on request of King Dinís in Latin, thereafter in Portuguese. The Castilian translation dates from 1342. We know practically nothing of the

¹⁷ *Crónica del moro Rasis*. Version of *Ajbar muluk Al-Andalus* de Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Musa Al-Razi, 889-995, translated in romance for the king Dionis of Portugal around 1300 by Mahomad, Alarife, and Gil Pérez, cleric of Lord Perianes Porçel.

CORTIJO OCAÑA, A. (1997) *La Crónica del moro Rasis y la Crónica Sarracina: dos testimonios desconocidos* (University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library, MS UCB 143, vol. 124. In: *La crónica: A journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures & Cultures*, Vol. 25 (2), 1997, pp. 5-30

¹⁸ **CALVERT, A.F.** (1908). *Southern Spain*, London.

Portuguese translation. However, there are four manuscripts of the Castilian version¹⁹.



The Treaty of Tudmir, as Theodomir was named by the Arabs, listed the agricultural products grown in the area and to be paid as a tribute: cereals (wheat and barley), derived from the vine (grape juice and vinegar), oil, and honey. This treaty kept this land in peace regardless of the bitter civil wars (*fitnas*) held by the Muslims even before their conquest of Hispania were completed. The invaders coming from Arabia, Yemen, and Syria were always facing each other, but mostly the North-African Berbers. The bad Islamized Berbers formed the basis of the Islamic armies in the Iberian Peninsula.

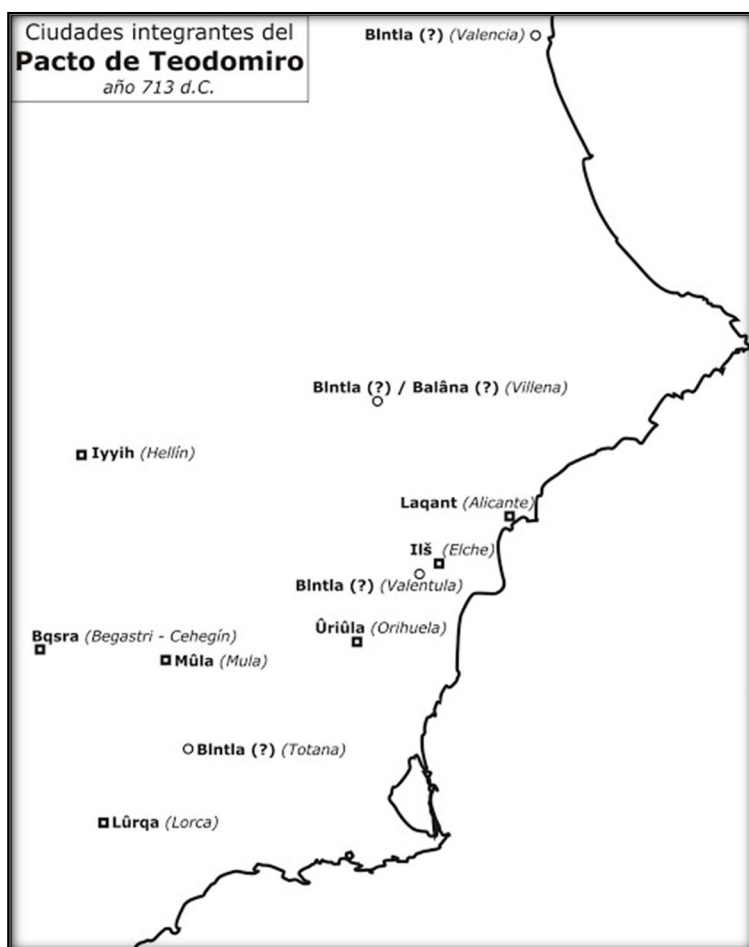
¹⁹ **ALCHALABI, Frédéric** (2014) Livres, témoins et témoignages dans la Crónica sarracina de Pedro de Corral. In: Autoriser le récit historique: histoire et culture historique en péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge. Under the direction of Frédéric Alchalabi y Hélène Thieulin-Pardo. (19, 2014 – Primera Crónica anónima de Sahagūn / Autoriser le récit historique)

At the time Tudmir occupied the territory of the present Region of Murcia in southeastern Spain, and most of the provinces of Alicante, Albacete, and northern regions of Almería (Vélez Blanco, Velez Rubio, Vera, etc.). It is interesting to know that Ana Christys²⁰ also states that the earliest surviving copy of this treaty is an interpolation into the tenth-century manuscript of *The Chronicle of 754*²¹. The text was also preserved in three Arabic works, including a fourteenth-century biographical dictionary²².

²⁰ **CHRISTYS, Ann** (1999) Christians in Al-Andalus (8th-10th centuries). Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Leeds, School of History, p. 196

²¹ *Chronicle of 754*, CSM I, p. 37; transcription **WOLF, K.B.** (1990) *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, pp. 149-150; **LOPEZ PEREIRA, J.E.** (1980) *Estudio Crítico sobre la Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, Zaragoza, pp. 40-43

²² **COLLINS, R.** (1989) *The Arab Conquest of Spain*, Oxford, pp. 39-40



Territory of Tudmir

741-779 Athanagild and the Kingdom of Tudmir

Al-Udri²³ let us know that ‘The territory of Tudmir is famous for the fertility of its land and exquisite fruit. The Jund of Egypt was established there.’

In which year did the Syrians occupying the Ricote Valley come? According to the research of Robert Marín-Guzmán²⁴ it was the year 740: “This division of the traditional Arab tribes was aggravated in al-Andalus when the Arabs claimed privileges on the grounds of priority of arrival. The Arabs differentiated between those who formed the first migration and those of the second migration. The first group, that of the conquest, consisted mainly of Yemenites (Southern Arabs) who received the name of *al-baladiyyūn* (Spanish *baladies*, from the Arabic *balad* “country”, “place of birth”). The second Arab migration was formed basically of Syrians and they were called *al-Shamiyyūn* (the Syrians). This second group reached the Peninsula around 740 to help the *wali* ‘Abd al-Malik to suppress the Berber revolt. After this success they took up arms against ‘Abd al-Malik and the Yemenites and defeated them. The Syrians (*yund-s*²⁵) remained the rulers of al-Andalus for about fifteen years until the arrival of the Umayyad ‘Abd al-Rahman I (*al-Dakīl*) in 756. The Syrians in Spain also established the Muslim practice of *junds*, armed land owners, in the frontier zones — equivalent to the ancient Roman *limitanei* — ready to defend their properties and al-Andalus from their tribal rivals, or from their Christian enemies.”

²³ **AL-UDRI** (1965) Tarsi ‘al-ajbar, de. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Ahwani, Madrid, IEEI; trad. parcial, E. Molina López, “La cora de Tudmir segūn al-‘Udri”, Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, 4 (1972), pp. 42 and 43

²⁴ **MARÍN-GUZMÁN, Roberto** (1991) *Ethnic Groups and Social Classes in Muslim Spain*. In: Islamic Studies, 30:1-2, pp. 37-66. Citation on pages 45-46

²⁵ **MANZANO MORENO, Eduardo** (1993) El asentamiento y la organización de los Yund-s sirios en Al-Andalus. In: Al-Qantara, Vol. XIV, 2, pp. 327-359

The soldiers from Syria gave the names of their own cities to their new places of settlement²⁶. Around 743 the governor Abu al-Kattar forced Theodomir's son Athanagild to pay an amount of 27,000 gold pieces.

The Syrian *junds* helped Athanagild pay the unpaid taxes and the fine. This pecuniary assistance, but especially in the influence with the new emir rather than the Syrians in general, one will have to see his son-in-law 'Abd al-Gabbar Ibn Hattab, a Syrian to whom Theodomir had married his daughter. Through al-'Udri we know that 'Abd al-Gabbar Ibn Ibn Marwan Ibn Hattab Nadir, was a great-grandson of a Mawla of the Umayyad caliph in Damascus (a member of the Eastern Arab nobility). He had reached al-Andalus with the troops of Balg (in 123/740-1) and settled at first in Cordoba. All things had to be very fast, since 'Abd al-Gabbar Ibn Hattab moved his residence to Tudmir. There he married the daughter of Theodomir, to whom two villages would have been given as dowry: the Tarsa - three miles from Elche and the Tall al-H(J)attab - eight miles from Orihuela²⁷.

²⁶ **VARIOS** (1996) *History of Humanity: From the seventh to the sixteenth century*. Volume IV, Edition Sigfried J. de Laet, p. 745

²⁷ **FRANCO-SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2014) El tratado de Teodomiro en su contexto histórico y paleo gráfico In: *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 5, 312-348. Citation on p. 318

MOLINA, Luis (1992) Los Banû Jattâb y los Banû Yamra. (Siglos II-VIII/VIII.XIV). In: *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus* (E.O.B.A.), pp. 289-307



Athanagild
Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid

Orihuela

That time apart from the Visigoths Orihuela (Auraiola) had an ethnic group of Jews. They were active in commerce, medicine, and worked as ambassadors from Christian rulers to al-Andalus. They immediately learned and wrote Arabic and were extremely influential at the economic and intellectual levels²⁸.

Lorca

The tombs and objects found by archaeologists also give us an indication of the period in question and the inhabitants.

Archaeologists found a ring-seal (or seal imprint, called *taba 'or* Khatam in Arabic) in a tomb in Lorca that was made of bronze and had an inscription in reverse. It was distributed on two epigraphic lines drawn in two systems of writing on a glass convex rock. The first line had a type of square script of the trunk of the Aramaic script (a type of Semitic writing that could be Nabatean, which would bring us the origin of the piece in Syria-Palestine).

The second epigraphic line is inscribed in Arabic (Cufic) 5'. The dual system of writing that it shows in a rough Arabic script tells us that we have a piece of close oriental origin dating to the early Islamic period (Umayyad period or formation of the Islamic art), so it may be a reused antique piece or a product of the typical mix of the early days of Islam.

Based on the study done by the archeologists they could give some conclusions:

The complete translation of the inscriptions that the ring contains would be: Servant of the one God or Servant of Allah alone. Thus we can hypothesize that the bearer of the ring

²⁸ **MARÍN-GUZMAN, Roberto** (1991) *Ethnic Groups and Social Classes in Muslim Spain*. In: *Islamic Studies*, 30:1-2, pp. 37-66. Citation on p. 49

belonged to an individual of Syrian origin, of Muslim religion (possibly from an Islamized nation) that came into al-Andalus in the first half of the eighth century, settling in Lorca with other members of his tribe (within the community he would have been an illustrious personage or occupied an important position since the ring had a seal to certify documents). They used a ritual of traditionalist burial (a fact which is reflected in the sources of Islamic Lorca where documents describe Ulemas, followers of al-Bukhari, the main source for understanding the traditionalist ritual) which only shares the orientation of the sacred space and the symbolism of the graves with the Maliki ritual.

The historical context into which we must place the settlement that would give rise to this *maqbarah* would originate after the breakdown of the Treaty of Orihuela. The special political status reflected in the content of the Covenant that was given to this region (Kura of Tudmir) remained until the mid eighth century when the Spanish-Gothic elites were increasingly reluctant to pay the fixed tax, engendering a tense situation which prompted that circa 743-744 Abu-l-Khattār spread different contingents of troops (coming in 742 from the East to quell rebellions of the Berbers) over al-Andalus, grouped according to their military recruiting district (Jund), dispersing "part of the troops of Syria and Egypt²⁹" in Tudmir.

Mula, Lorca, and Orihuela

In 746 A.D. Yusuf b. ‘Abdul-Rahman al-Fihri won the civil war, became a ruler, and decided which cities would be his

²⁹ CHÁVET LOZOYA, María & SÁNCHEZ GALLEG0, Rubén (2010) Hallazgos arqueológicos inéditos en la ciudad de Lorca: Resultados de la intervención científica desarrollada en el entorno de la iglesia del Carmen (Barrio de Gracia). In: Clavis, N° 6, pp. 9-31. Citation on pp. 21-22
 SAAVEDRA, Eduardo Invasion

principal ones. Among them are Tudmir, Mula, Lorca, Auriola (Orihuela), and Cartagena³⁰.

Reinhart Dozy gives us more information about the years between 743 and 745 of Abu-l-Khattār in his work of 1913, and here follows the partial text in which Tudmir is stated:

«The more moderate and intelligent men on either side, labouring under the evils produced by civil war, indignant at the horrible excesses committed by both parties, and fearing lest the Christians of the North might take advantage of the strife between the Moslems and extend their borders, entered into communication with the Governor of Africa, Handhala the Kelbite, begging him to send a Governor capable of restoring order and tranquillity. Handhala thereupon sent the Kelbite Abu 'l-Khattar to Spain, who arrived with his troops at Biosara at the very moment when Arabs were being bartered for goats and dogs. Abu 'l-Khattār produced his commission, and since he was a noble of Damascus the Syrians could not refuse to recognise him. The Arabs of Spain hailed him as their deliverer, for his first care was to set at liberty the ten thousand captives who were being ignominiously bartered. By prudent measures the new Governor re-established tranquillity.

He granted an amnesty to Omayya and Katan, the two sons of 'Abd al-Malik, and to all their partisans, except the ambitious 'Abd-er-Rahmān ibn Habib, who nevertheless succeeded in reaching the coast and crossing over to Africa, where a brilliant career awaited him. Handhala exiled from Spain a dozen of the most turbulent chieftains, including Thalaba himself, telling them that while they were disturbers of the peace in the Peninsula, their fiery valour would find better scope in warring against the Berbers of Africa. Since it was of primary importance that the Capital should be freed from the embarrassing presence of the Syrians, Handhala gave them the

³⁰ CONDE, José Antonio (1844) *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*; 1st part, Vol. I., chapter XXXVII, Barcelona, p. 25

public lands in fee, ordering the serfs who tilled the soil henceforth to make over to the Syrians that third part of the crops which they had hitherto yielded to the State. The Egyptian division³¹ was settled in the districts of Oksonoba, Beja, and Tudmir; the division of Emesa, in Niebla and Seville; that of Palestine, in the district of Sidona and Algeciras; that of Jordan, in the district of Regio; that of Damascus, in the district of Elvira; and, finally, that of Kinnisrin, in the district of Jaen. The important but unhappy part played by the sons of the *Helpers* of Mohammed here came to an end. Schooled by so many reverses and calamities, they seem at last to have become convinced that their ambitious hopes could never be realized. Abandoning politics to others, they retired into the background to live privately on their domains, and when, at long intervals, the name of a Medinese chief crops up in Arab annals, it is always in connexion with purely personal interests, or as a supporter of some party other than his own³¹».

The Chronicle known as *Crónica Mozarable* ensures in 754 that the Pact of Orihuela of 713 (715³²) was still in force. The Chronicle of 754 (or *Continuatio Hispana*) was a Latin-language history in 95 sections which was composed in 754 in a part of Spain under Arab occupation. The Chronicle of 754 covers the years 610 to 754 during which it has a few contemporary sources against which to check its veracity; some consider it one of the best sources for post-Visigothic history and for the story of the Moorish conquest of Spain and southern France.

³¹ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 145-146.

³² The exact date was in 715, see: **BALANÁ ABADIA, Pedro** (1981) La fecha exacta de la capitulación de Tudmir, un error de transmisión. In: *Awraq*, Nº. 4, pp. 73-78

Very little is known about the events that had to occur in the region of Todmir during the control by the dependent emirs of the caliphs of Damascus. The news items of that time that we know from Arabic historians pertain to Spain in general, but nothing to any specific region. They say nothing about Theodomir and his assumed successor Athanagild; only the manuscript “Anónimo latino” makes mention of these personas.

The village of Jumilla

The Jumilla castle perched on a hill from which it dominated its town. Its first fortifications were from the Bronze Age and due to its privileged position it continued to expand throughout the centuries. In the Iron Age the Iberians settled in it making it a great hill fort. Thereafter the Romans took possession of it and fortified the hill, constructing a part of the wall which still exists today. Pottery shards, “sigillata” from the first century were found in this era. Seven centuries later, in April 713, the Arabs crossed Jumilla in their attempt to conquer the peninsula. They began building the Arab fortress on the ancient Roman ruins. The Arab settlement in Jumilla lasted five centuries until it was conquered by king San Fernando in 1241, integrating it into the crown of Castile for the first time.

Consequently the Arabic presence in Jumilla was of an early date. Archaeological research proved that the core population between the eighth to eleventh centuries was in the vicinity of the Rinconada de Olivares necropolis. This core moved during the eleventh century to a space that exists between the “Plaza de Arriba” and the “Rambla de la Alquería, occupying the hilltop of the castle where the first fortress was built³³.

³³ **HERNÁNDEZ CARRIÓN, Emiliano** (2009) La arqueología musulman en Jumilla: Estado de la cuestión. En tudmir 1, Murcia, pp. 29-40



Castle of Jumilla
(CC BY-SA 3.0) Photo of Gregorio

A new hypothesis

The first thing we must say again is that we hardly know anything credible about the invasion of Spain by Muslims. In his "Introduction" to the History of Muslim Spain by E. Lévi-Provencal, the illustrious Spanish Arabist who was also translator to our language, Emilio García Gómez already says that "there is barely any silence as vast and eerie in history as the one surrounding the entry of Muslims into Spain. What we know from the conquest and the early days of the new situation is because of relatively late sources that try to project some clarity, not always impartial or disinterested, on a very dark period already populated with legends that, like monstrous flora, often vegetate in historical darkness." And indeed it is. It seems that when one faces that historical period, the astonishment at what was happening in Spain was so great that

deadly silence followed the supposed arrival of Tarik in Gibraltar. Before continuing with the topic a previous question arises: Did Tarik really come to Gibraltar?³⁴

The First General Chronicle of Spain, which King Alfonso X the Wise ordered to compile, placed the defeat of Don Rodrigo in two scenarios. The first was the Guadalete River. But immediately afterwards the First Chronicle warned that "some say this battle happened in the field of Sangonera, which is between Murcia and Lorca." For centuries this second option was relegated until new data that underpinned its authenticity arose. It happened in 1989 and the idea was not sketched by anyone, nor in a forum without prestige. On the contrary, the thesis was the basis for the inaugural speech of the eminent philologist Joaquín Vallvé in the Real Academia de la Historia on April 2 of that year³⁵. Vallvé maintained that certain names of places mentioned in Arab sources about this dispute may correspond to Murcian names of places³⁶. The al-Buhayra or al-Lakk could be identified "with the Mar Menor or La Albufera or even better, with the lagoon surrounding the city of Cartagena in the northwest, origin of medieval and modern Almarjal. The Wadi-l-Tin may be the Guadalentín or Sangonera river." Scholar Vallvé added that the term al-Sawaqi, the

³⁴ **SERNA, Alfonso de la** (2006) *Al sur de Tarifa. Marruecos-España: un malentendido histórico*. Marcial Pons. Madrid, p. 56.

³⁵ Discurso de ingreso en la Real Academia de la Historia, 2 de abril de 1989 **VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín; GARCÍA GÓMEZ, Emilio** (1989) *Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España: Toponimia y onomástica: discurso leído en el acto de su recepción pública por el Excmo. Sr. D. Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo y contestación por el Excmo. Sr. D. Emilio García Gómez, el día 2 de abril de 1989*. Real Academia de Historia

³⁶ **VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín** (1967) *Sobre algunos problemas de la invasión musulmana*. In: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, IV, pp. 361-367. **VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín** (1989) *Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España: Toponimia y onomástica*. In: *Al-qantara: Revista de estudios árabes*, Vol. 10, Fasc. 1, pp. 51-150. **VERNET GINÉS, Juan; VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín; GRAU I MONSERRAT, Manuel** (1989) *La conquista árabe de España*. In: *Historia* 16, N°. 156, pp. 45-67

canals, quoted by the poet of the thirteenth century Al-Qartachanni, could correspond to the canals that watered the garden of Murcia. And the Qartachanna conquered by the Arabs could refer to the city of Cartagena and not the old Carteya of the Algeciras Bay³⁷.



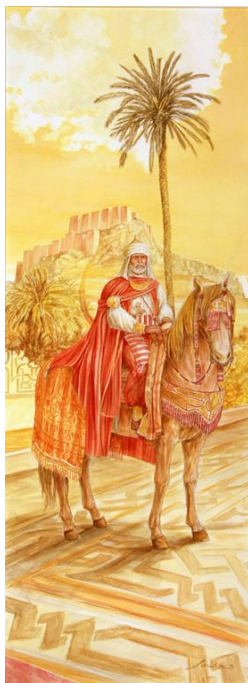
The castle of Mula
Photo: Juan González Castaño

Another author, Emilio García Gómez, based on Arab sources, says that it was the Count Teodomiro who connected Don Rodrigo with the Arab landing. This is not an inconsiderable hypothesis, since from the time of the Punic empire the maritime traffic had created a route from the African Carthage to New Carthage, founded around 227 B.C. by Asdrúbal el

³⁷ **BOTÍAS, Antonio** (2011) ¿Comenzó a conquista árabe en Sangonera? In: Newspaper “La Verdad” of Murcia, 4 December, 2011

Bello with the name Qart Hadasht. Why would they go to Gibraltar to cross the strait if an old and known seaway allowed them to go from one continent to another in just four hours?³⁸

Spanish Arabists as Chalmeta and Vallvé have criticized the use that Sanchez Albornoz made of Arab historiography on the Islamic conquest of the peninsula³⁹. It is time to study the historical sources with other perspectives.



³⁸ **GARCÍA GÓMEZ, Emilio** (0000) Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España: toponimia y onomástica, pp. 105-106

³⁹ **CHALMETA, P.** (1973) Una Historia discontinua e inteporal (Jabar). In: Hispania, 33, p. 24

VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín (1970) Al-Andalus et l’Ifriquiya au VIIIe siècle: Histoire et Légende. In: Cahiers de Tunisie, 18, pp. 21-30

756-929
INDEPENDENT EMIRATE

756-788 Abd ar-Rahman I (Independent Emirate)

In the year 756 the future emir ‘Abd al-Rahman I entered al-Andalus. Anxious in his conquest of power he forgot the ancient boundaries of the Visigoth kingdom. Abd al-Rahman I, or his full name by patronymic record being Abd al-Rahman ibn Mu’awiya ibn Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (731–788), was the founder of a Muslim dynasty that ruled the greater part of Iberia for nearly three centuries (including the succeeding Caliphate of Córdoba). The Muslims called the regions of Iberia under their dominion al-Andalus. Abd al-Rahman’s establishment of a government in al-Andalus represented a branching out from the rest of the Islamic Empire which had been brought under the Abbasid following the overthrow of the Umayyads from Damascus in 750. In 784 Abd ar Rahman I ordered the construction of a mosque in Cordoba. In its place was a Christian church, so he bought the building and demolished it. The new mosque was close to the emir’s palace. The date of Abd al-Rahman’s death is disputed, but is generally accepted to be sometime around 785 through 788. He was succeeded by Hisham I of Córdoba. In the last six years of the reign of Abd al-Rahman I, Rayyu, Elvira, and Tudmir were recorded as being held the Amir’s sons and so they were presumably within his power.

Gaspar Ramiro⁴⁰ intensively deals with the story of ‘Abd-ar-Rahman ibn Habib, nicknamed “The Slav” that he borrowed from the French edition *Histoire des Musulmans d’Espagne*, Leiden, 1861, because Todmir played a role in the texts. The English edition of Reinhart Dozy⁴¹ is as follows:

⁴⁰ **GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Zaragoza, pp. 58-60

⁴¹ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 204-205

«In central Spain the Berber revolt was not suppressed until after ten years of Warfare -when Shakya was assassinated by two of his adherents- and it was still in progress when a formidable confederacy summoned to Spain a foreign conqueror. The members of the confederacy were the Kelbite Al-Arabi, Governor of Barcelona; the Fihrite, ‘Abd-er-Rahman ibn Habib, Yusuf’s son-in-law, surnamed “The Slav”—since his tall, slender figure, fair hair, and blue eyes resembled the type of that race of which many representatives were to be found among the slaves in Spain- and Abu ’l-Aswad, Yusuf’s son, whom ‘Abd-er-Rahman had condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but who had evaded the vigilance of his jailers by posing as a blind man.

(At first Abu ’l-Aswad’s blindness was discredited. He was subjected to the most difficult tests; but his yearning for liberty lent him the ability not to betray himself in the smallest particular, and he played his part with such perseverance and talent for imposture that in the end he was universally believed to be sightless. Having thus lulled his jailers into carelessness, he concerted a plan of escape with one of his clients, who had obtained permission to visit him from time to time. One morning when the prisoners had been led through a subterranean passage to perform their ablutions in the river, the client and some friends posted themselves, with horses, on the opposite bank. At a moment when he was unobserved Abu ’l-Aswad plunged into the stream, swam across, sprang into the saddle, and riding at full gallop to Toledo, reached that city in safety.)

So bitter was the hatred of these three chiefs for ‘Abd- er-Rahman, that they resolved to implore the aid of Charlemagne, although that conqueror -the fame of whose exploits already resounded through the world- was the most implacable enemy of Islam. The confederates accordingly, in 777, journeyed to Paderborn, where Charlemagne was then holding a “May-field,” and proposed an alliance with him against the Emir of Spain. Charlemagne fell in with the proposal without hesitation. Just

then his hands were free, and he could meditate new conquests. The Saxons had submitted -as he supposed- to his dominion and to Christianity; thousands of them were then at Paderborn awaiting baptism; Wittekind, their most formidable chief, had been banished from his country to seek refuge with a Danish prince. It was decided, therefore, that Charlemagne should cross the Pyrenees with a large force; that Al-Arabi, and his allies to the north of the Ebro, should reinforce him and acknowledge him as their Sovereign, and that “The Slav,” after raising levies among the African Berbers, should lead them into the province of Tudmir, where he would cooperate with the northern invaders by raising the standard of the ‘Abbasid Khalif as Charlemagne’s ally. This powerful confederacy, whose plan of attack had been formed after mature deliberation, threatened to prove vastly more dangerous for ‘Abd-er-Rahman than any which had preceded it. Fortunately for him the projects of the allies were less ably executed than devised.»

Tudmir

The rebellions of the three sons of Yusuf in 760, 762 and 766 were drowned in blood.

‘Abd-ar-Rahman, ibn Habib surnamed “The Slav” landed in Tudmir with a Berber army; but he arrived prematurely, for Charlemagne had not crossed the Pyrenees; and when he sought help from Al-Arabī, the latter replied that according to the plan of campaign agreed upon at Paderborn, it was his duty to remain in the North and support Charlemagne’s army. The blood-feud between Fihrites and Yemenites was too deeply rooted for the suspicion of treachery not to arise. Believing himself betrayed by Al-Arabi, Ibn Habib marched against him, was defeated, and returning to the province of Tudmir was assassinated by a Berber of Oretum, of whom he had imprudently made a confidant, little suspecting that he was one of the Emir’s agents⁴².

⁴² **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 204-205.



Abd ar Rahman I

Supporters of Abu 'l-Aswad, Yusuf's son, advised him to surrender to the mercy of the emir, but he replied that a secret force prevented him from doing so. He lost a battle in 784 and finally died in Alarcon in 785. However, Yusuf had two other sons Casim and Hafila in Todmir. They were still a threat to Abd ar Rahman I.

In 785 Casim, a child of Jusuf the Fehri and Hafila shook the mood of Murcians, and kicked up a rebellion against Abderrarnen, the first king of Córdoba. The scandal in Spain

got to a point when the king was obliged to go from his court to Murcia, afraid that if he lost this gem of his ring, the whole kingdom and he would be in danger. The purpose of this trip and the king's conduct was political. Quietening things down and winning hearts, rather than punishing the guilty, despite their crime had a degree of gratitude to the king for his application and advancement in the culture of the land.

Upon his arrival in the mountains of Alcaraz he heard news of defeat of the rebels by the walies of Tudmir, and that Abdala, son of Abdelmelic ben Omar the Meruan managed to arrest the warlord Casim ben Jusuf the Fehri, and had him safe; and the king visited the Fort of Secura which is like a city built on top of a large mountain, making it impossible to access the fortress. Two rivers originated there - one of them is called Guadalquivir and flows from Cordoba, the other is Guadalabiad and passes through Murcia. The one going through Cordoba comes out of this mountain from a buildup of water from a clear lake in the heart of the mountain and descends to the foothill, comes out of the deep side of the mountain, and goes to the west to mount Nágida, Gadir and close to Medina Ubeda, and the plains of Medina Bayesa, Alcozir, Hisn Aldujar, Cantara Extesan, and Córdoba. The Guadalabiad comes from the foothill of the mountain to Hosain Alfered, Hisn Mula, Murcia, Auriola, Almodwar, and reaches the sea. Abderahman went from there to Denia, and while there he took the head of the luckless Hafila, who so often had escaped from dangerous trances of bloody battles. No one can avoid the shot of the bolt of his destination. King Abderahman then came to Lorca where he stayed for a few days.

Then Abderramen appeared in Murcia with an army of knights and nobles, feeling hurt by the disaffection of its inhabitants. Many prominent Murcians who were faithful introduced themselves to the king. They recounted these events in the city and when people began to squeal, the king ordered them to be

silenced. Some witnesses soon returned to the city and were in the streets publishing the sublime thoughts of the Sovereign.

The shock and fear of neighbours suddenly changed into hope and joy. Abderramen was in Cantarac Askeya and in Murcia he already had no disaffection. The main engines of discord were also of the peace; because with their faces wet with tears of sorrow they were the first to beg forgiveness and offer the sacrifice of their lives in defense of their king. Opening the gates of the city, arranging it to unprecedented celebrations, and its inhabitants going to pay homage and welcome Abderramen with his entourage, everything happened at the same time.

The king got along fairly quickly with Murcians and in the confused hubbub of people the most cordial acts of human kindness were seen. So Abderramen entered Murcia victoriously and his horses were walking on plants that covered the streets. Great were the parties, joys, and gifts they gave to their king, among which were some aromatic essences for baths. The prince stayed in the city for some time to ensure peace and manage public affairs. Its resolutions proved their virtues, and confirmed the hope of the people. Forgiveness of their offences, forgetting the past, the prize to the application and merit, and protection dispensed to agriculture were the guides of real politics. Amazed to see so much care and fertility he doubted if art could do more than nature in Murcia; and repeated that the land was to be the mirror where the noble and powerful Arabs should be looked for in Spain. The king accompanied by the wali Abdala ben Abdelmelic went back to Córdoba in 787.

A few days after arriving in the capital they presented him Yusuf's youngest son in chains. Casim begged forgiveness and kissed in humility the soil at the feet of the Emir, who commanded to take off the irons. From this moment Casim was

always obedient to his benefactor who gave him many possessions in Sevilla⁴³.

Totana

Tawtana (Totana) appears 11km from Alhama. Al-Udri considered Tawtana as one of the jurisdictions of the province of the Cora of Tudmir that was invaded by the troops of Abd al-Rahman I in 779, bringing the population to the stronghold of Aledo, situated in Sierra Espuña.

⁴³ **PILES IBARS, Andrés** (1901) Valencia árabe. Volume I. Valencia, pp. 66-67

788-796 Hisham I

Hisham I or Hisham Al-Reda was the second Umayyad Emir of Cordoba, ruling from 788 to 796 in the Al-Andalus. Hisham was born in Cordoba, 756. He was the first son of Abd ar-Rahman I and his wife, Halul and the younger half brother of Suleiman who was the first-born. His proclamation provoked a dynastic war, in which Suleiman and another of his brothers, 'Abd Allah, had to emigrate to North Africa. Hisham died in 796 C.E. after rule of eight years. He was only forty years old at the time of his death. He was a prototype of Umar II, and strove to establish the Islamic way of life. He lived a simple life and avoided regal show and ostentation. He was a God-fearing man and was known for his impartial justice and sound administration. After his death, 'Abd Allah returned from exile and claimed Valencia and Suleiman claimed Tangiers against Hisham's son, al-Hakam I.

The building of the Mosque in Cordova.

In planning the Mosque the architects incorporated a number of Roman columns with choice capitals. Some of the columns were already in the Gothic structure; others were sent from various quarters of Spain as presents from the governors of provinces. Ivory, jasper, porphyry, gold, silver, copper, and brass were used in the decorations. Marvellous mosaics and tiles were designed. Panels of scented woods were fastened with nails of pure gold, and the red marble columns were said to be the work of God. The primitive part of the building, reared under the direction of Abd-er-Rahman I., was that bordering the Court of Oranges. Later, the immense temple embodied all the styles of Morisco architecture in one noble composition. The first Khalif of Cordova did not survive to witness the completion of the Mosque. He died in the Alcazar long before the work was finished, and committed the task to his son Hisham.

The prince carried on the work with zealous devotion. Upon his father's death in 788, the building covered only a small part of the ground now occupied by the Mosque and its later additions. Hisham I. built the tower for the muezzin, and the fretted gallery for the women worshippers, and added much to the Zeca, or House of Purification, erected by Abd-er-Rahman.



Abd ar Rahman I choose his son Hixem as his successor
Illustration by José Serra Estellés

The Court of Ablutions was laid out by the first Khalif, and occupied the ground of the present Court of Oranges. In constructing the Mosque, the founders adapted the basilica form of building to the new worship. During the Omeyyad dynasty the original building was constantly enlarged and improved, and fresh decorations were added up to the time of Almanzor. Each Khalif vied with his predecessor in beautifying the temple. The pristine building was finished ten years after the planning under Abd-er-Rahman I., that is, during the reign of Hisham I., who

conducted the labour with the utmost expedition. Marbles of spotless white were chosen for the innumerable columns. Arrazi, an Arab writer, speaks of the valuable wine-coloured marble, obtained from the mountains of the district, which was much used in embellishing the naves of the Mosques of Cordova and Ez-Zahra. The solemnity and beauty of the ceremonies in the House of Purification can only be imagined. Every day saw the celebration of the tazamein or purification of the devout, before entering the holy structure, and six times daily the alicama, or call to prayer, was shouted by the muezzin from the summit of the minaret. No shoes were permitted to defile the sanctuary; the worshippers entered barefooted. From its sacred shadow all Jews were excluded, and restrictions guarded the approach of women, except the privileged royal brides.

The interior glittered with gold, silver, precious stones, mosaics, and hundreds of lamps of brass. By the side of the priest stood a mighty wax candle, and the scent of the burning aloes, ambergris, and perfumed oils in the lanterns drifted through the tangled arches of the long naves. Some of the brass lamps were made out of bells taken from Christian churches. The pulpit was seven years in the making. It was of ivory, ebony, sandal, aloe, and citron wood, with nails of gold and silver. Eight artists lavished their skill upon the designing and adorning of this pulpit. In the wondrous mih-rab the walls were of pure gold. A copy of the Koran in a gold case, set with pearls and rubies, was kept in the pulpit. It was taken away by Abu-Mohammed on one of his campaigns, and was finally lost to the faithful. The building of the Mosque began in 785 or 786, and throughout the rule of the Omeyyad monarchs there were constant additions to the Zeca of Abd-er-Rahman I⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ CALVERT, Albert Frederick & GALLICHAN, Walter Matthew (1907). Cordova, A city of the Moors, London, pp. 47-50.

Tudmir

The two brothers Suleiman and Abdallah, agreed to govern their provinces as absolute lords of the same, in perfect independence of their brother the King of Cordova. Also Said Ben Husein, Wali of Tortosa, resisted the commands of the king, and refused to admit into the city the new Wali whom Hisham I had appointed to succeed him in this government. Thereupon the Wali of Valencia received orders to proceed without delay to Tortosa and castigate the rebel. Then the Wali of Valencia, Muza Ben Hodeira El Keisi had been wounded to the death. The battle and the death of the Wali of Valencia took place in the beginning of the year 172.

Thereupon Hisham I charged the Walies of Granada and Murcia to despatch their troops to the new governor of Valencia, Abu Otman, who should immediately proceed to the castigation of Said Ben Husein. The army of the king was meanwhile proceeding to punish the disobedience of Suleiman. However, instead of assisting him, the Viziers and the principal generals took arms against him, and pursued by the cavalry of Abdallah El Meruan, Suleiman was compelled to return towards the land of Tudmir by the paths of the mountains. The two brothers were put in severe difficulties and Abdallah had to surrender in Toledo and was forgiven by Hisham I.

The king was meanwhile well aware of Suleiman's intentions, and knew that he was then in the land of Tudmir levying troops and exhorting the towns to rise against their king. He therefore commanded his Walies to prepare forces and proceed to seek the disobedient prince. The command of the vanguard, Hisham I intrusted on that occasion to his son Alhakem, but as this was the first time that he had led men to war, his father took care that he should have experienced generals at his side. That portion of the army then departed, being composed of the very

flower of the cavalry; the day after it had left Cordova, the main body and the remainder of the force prepared to follow. The troops of Suleiman were in the plains of Lorca, and Alhakem, without awaiting the arrival of his father, with the host he commanded, fell at once upon the rebel army, and by force of numbers, aided withal by the determined energy of his attack, the young general routed the enemy, whom he put to a disorderly flight; but many of his own men as well as of the foes lay stretched upon the field, a welcome festival to the wild beast of the desert and the birds of prey. When Hisham I arrived, therefore, he found no enemy with whom to join battle, nor did he fail to laud the youthful prince and his brave warriors. Suleiman was not with his army on the day of the battle. Shortly thereafter he wrote to the king his brother begging pardon for the past. Hisham I forgave his brother but proposed him to sell his possessions in Spain and to pass over to the West of Africa. All thought that this was a desirable measure for the security of both the brothers. To these terms Suleiman submitted, and the treaty of agreement was made in the year 174/790⁴⁵.

The first qadi in Tudmir

Tudmir is clearly dominated by families of ulamas. From the founding of Murcia it's not easy to know where to place the activity of the ulamas. We have heard of 32 ulamas from Tudmir and 6 from Lorca. Among them the first that stands out in Tudmir and later in Murcia is the Arab Banû 'Amîra al-'Utaqî family we have found in sources from 193/808 until 665/1266, shortly before the Christian conquest. In the case of Banû 'Amîra we see the first generation of Qadis starting with the appointment of al-Fadl as Qadi of Tudmir at times of al-

⁴⁵ CONDE, J.A. (1854). History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Translated from the Spanis of Dr. J. A. Condé, by Mrs. Jonathan Foster, Volume I, pp. 230-234.

Hiskam I. He belongs to the kind of Qadis who have a legal background, since he was disciple of Egyptian and Medinese disciples of Mâlik⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ **CASTILLA, J.** (1991). Los Banû ‘Amîra de Murcia. In: Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus (E.O.B.A.) Volume V, Madrid, pp. 57-84.

FIERRO, Maribel & MARÍN, Manuela (1998). La islamización de las ciudades andalusíes a través de sus ulemas (s. II/VIII comienzos s. IV/X). In: Genèse de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental. Casa de Velázquez. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Madrid, p. 91.

ÁVILA, María Luisa (1994). Cargos hereditarios en la administración judicial y religiosa de al-Andalus. In: Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam: actas del Simposio Internacional (Granada, 15-18 octubre de 1991). Madrid, pp. 27-37. Citation on p. 33.

796-822 Al-Hakam I

Al-Hakam Ibn Hisham Ibn Abd-ar-Rahman I was Umayyad Emir of Cordoba from 796 until 822 in the Al-Andalus. Al-Hakam⁴⁷ was the second son of his father, his older brother having died at an early age. When he came to power, he was challenged by his uncles Sulayman and Abdallah, sons of his grandfather Abd ar-Rahman I. In the meantime Sulayman attacked Cordoba, but was defeated and driven back to Mérida where he was captured and executed. Abdallah was pardoned, but forced to stay in Valencia. Al-Hakam spent much of his reign suppressing rebellions⁴⁸.

An attempt was made to dethrone Al-Hakam and replace him with his cousin Mohammed ibn al-Kasim. In 806, when the plot was discovered, 72 nobles were massacred at a banquet, crucified and displayed along the banks of the river Guadalquivir. The reign of the cruel al-Hakam I coincides paradoxically with the humanization of Andalus. The latest days of his live were embittered ones because his mistrust increased. He died in 822 on the age of 53 after having ruled for 26 years. So in 796, when the good Hisham departed in the odour of sanctity, a complete change came over the Court. The new Sultan, Al-Hakam I, was not indifferent to religion or in any way a reprobate; but he was gay and sociable, and enjoyed life as it came to him, without the slightest leaning towards asceticism. Such a character was wholly objectionable to the bigoted doctors of theology. They spoke of the Sultan with pious horror, publicly prayed for his conversion, and even reviled and insulted him to his face. Finding him incurable in

⁴⁷ **IBN HAYYAN** (2001) *Crónica de los emires Al Hakam I y Abdarrahmān II entre los años 796 y 847* [Almuqtabis II-1], traducción, notas e índices de Mahmud Alí Makki y Federico Corriente, Zaragoza

⁴⁸ **FIERRO, Maribel** (2003) *Sobre el Muqtabis. Las hijas de al-Hakam I y la revuelta del arrabal*. In: *Al-Qantara XXIV*, 1, pp. 209-215

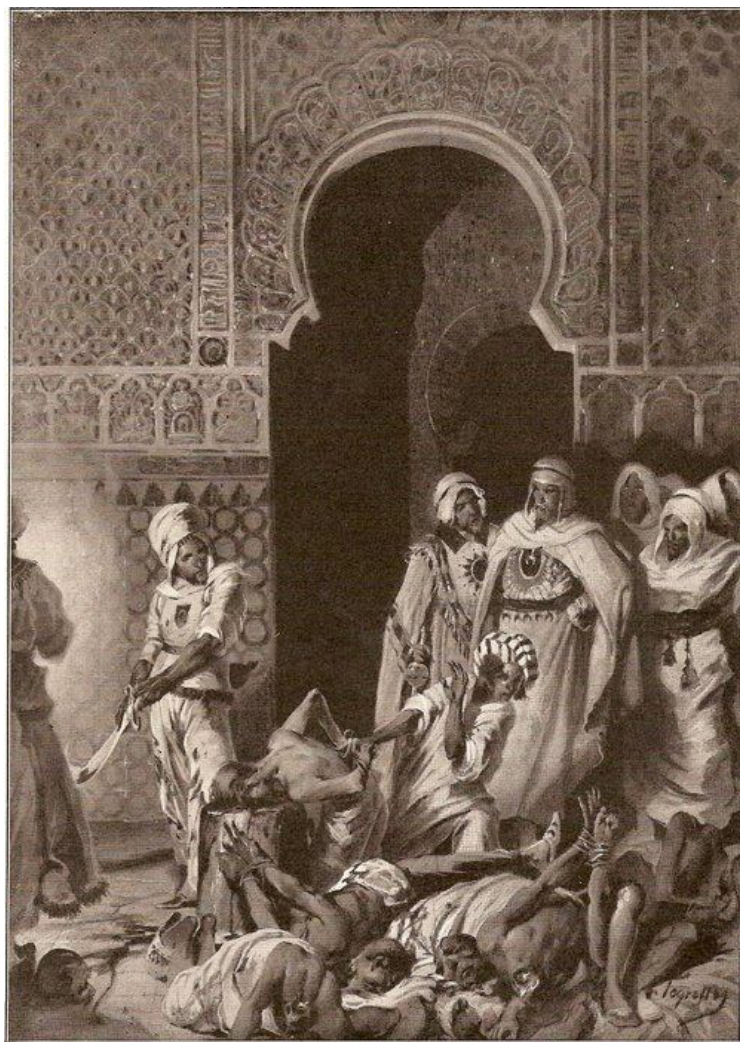
his levity, they plotted to set up another member of his family on the throne.



**Massacring of the nobles along the banks of the river Guadalquivir
Drawing of José Segrelles**

The conspiracy failed, and many of the leading nobles, who had joined in the plot, together with a number of fanatical doctors, were crucified. Undeterred by this, in 806 the people, stirred up by the bigots, rose again, only to be as summarily repressed as before. Even the terrible fate of the nobles of Toledo, who had rebelled, as was their wont, and were at this time treacherously inveigled into the hands of the Crown Prince and massacred to a man, did not deter the Cordovans from another revolt. For seven years, indeed, the memory of the “Day of the Foss,” as the massacre at Toledo was called, kept the fanatics of Cordova within bounds ; but as the recollection of that fearful hole into which the murdered bodies of all the nobility of Toledo had been cast, grew fainter, there were symptoms of a fresh

insurrection at the capital. Popular feeling ran very high, not only against the Sultan, because he would not wear sackcloth and ashes or pretend to be an ascetic, but still more against his large body-guard of "Mutes," so called because, being negroes and the like, they could not speak Arabic. The Mutes dared not venture in the streets of Cordova except in numbers; a single soldier was sure to be mobbed, and might be murdered. One day a wanton blow struck by a member of the guard roused the whole people. They rushed with one accord to the palace, led by the thousands of theological students who inhabited the southern suburb of the city, and seemed bent on carrying it by assault in spite of its fortifications and garrison. The Sultan Hakam looked forth over the sea of faces, and watched with consternation the devoted mob repulsing the charge of his tried cavalry; but even in this hour of desperate peril he did not lose the sang-froid which is the birthright of great men. Retiring to his hall, he told his page Hyacinth to bring him a bottle of civet, with which he proceeded calmly to perfume his hair and beard. The page could not repress his astonishment at such an occupation, when the cruel mob was even then battering at the gates; but Hakam, who was fully aware of his danger, replied: Silence, rascal ! How do you suppose the rebels would be able to find out my head among the rest, if it were not distinguished by its sweet odour? " He then summoned his officers, and took his measures for the defence.



Day of the Foss
Drawing of José Segrelles

These were simple enough; but they proved effectual. He despatched his cousin with a force of cavalry, by a roundabout way, to the southern suburb, which he set in flames, and when the people turned back in terror from the besieged palace to rescue their wives and children from their burning homes, Hakam and the rest of the garrison fell on them in the rear. Attacked on both hands, the unfortunate rebels were cut to pieces; the grim Mutes rode through them, slashing them down by the hundred, and disregarding, if they understood, their prayers for mercy. Hakam's manoeuvre saved the palace and the dynasty ; and the insurrection was converted into a wholesale massacre. Yet in the moment of his triumph the Sultan stayed his hand; he did not press his victory to the last limits, but was content with ordering the destruction of the rebellious suburb and the exile of its inhabitants, who were forced to fly, some to Alexandria, to the number of fifteen thousand, besides women and children, whence they eventually crossed to Crete ; others, eight thousand in all, to Fez, in Africa. The majority of the exiles were descendants of the old Spanish population, who had embraced Islam, but were glad of a pretext to assert their racial antipathy for the Arab rule. The chief offenders, the fakis, or theological students, however, were left unpunished, partly, no doubt, because many of them were Arabs, and partly in deference to their profession of orthodoxy. To one of their leaders, who was dragged before Hakam, and who told the Sultan, in the heat of his fanatical rage, that in hating his king he was obeying the voice of God, Hakam made the memorable reply:

“He who commanded thee, as thou dost pretend, to hate me,
commands me to pardon thee. Go and live, in God's protection!”⁴⁹

Abu'l-Kasim Abbas bin Firnas de Tecorona, astrologer to Al-Hakam I, introduced musical studies into Spain, as well as other scientific instruction. He was an alchemist, philosopher, and

⁴⁹ LANE-POOLE, Stanley (1888). *The Moors in Spain*, London, pp. 74-77.

poet, inventor of glazing on stone and of an apparatus for flying made out of feathers. He built a room in his house with a drawing of the starry firmament, and caused thunder and lightning in the same room. He made a watch which he gave to Abdu'r-Rahman II. He introduced the poetic art of Khalil. Abu'l-Kasim died in 274 (887 A.D.) during the reign of the Emir Muhammad (Ibn Said, MS 80, page 172; Al-Makkari, II, page 57)⁵⁰.

Tudmir

When Suleiman and Abdallah, uncles of the present king Alhakem, were informed of their brother Hisham's death, they renewed their pretensions to the sovereignty of Spain, or at least of some of its provinces and of the possession of which they still considered themselves to have been wrongfully despoiled. They now sought to gather partizans. Buoyed up by these hopes the people of Toledo, Valencia, and Todmir were excited by the idea of rebellion by their means.

Ibn Hazm⁵¹ informs us through his *Collection of Arab Genealogies*, a work existing in the library of the al-Zaytuna mosque of Tunis, that Abdallah took the nickname of the *Valençi* for having seized *Valencia, Todmir, Tortosa, Barcelona, and Huesca*.

⁵⁰ **RIBERA, Julián** (1929). *Music in ancient Arabia and Spain*, London, p. 97.

⁵¹ Abu Muhammad Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Sa'id ibn Hazm was born 994 CE (384 AH) in Cordoba (Qurtuba) in Spain and died 1064/456. His son records that he wrote four hundred books, covering 80,000 pages, but very few survived. Ibn Hazm came from a wealthy and influential family. His father served as Minister under Hisham ibn al-Hakam the Ummayyad ruler of Andalus.

On the other hand Suleiman went from Tanger to the coast of Todmir where he broke through twice in 798 A.D. to battle with his nephew Alhaquem, but was defeated on both occasions. So he did it again twice with his Todmir people in 799 A.D. in Ecija, Jaen, and Elvira (Granada), but his nephew defeated him again. Finally an arrow pierced the throat of Suleiman, who fell from his horse, was trampled to death by the cavalry, and died in 800. Abdallah saw his power decline in Valencia and Todmir. Therefore he entered into negotiations with his nephew, pleading amnesty in 802. In 803 peace was signed and Abdallah could continue to govern Valencia⁵².

In Murcia blood flowed in torrents for seven years because a Ma'addite, as he passed in 807 a Yemenite's field, had chanced thoughtlessly tearing off a vine leaf. Rahman II knew that a revolt arose among Yemenis and modaries of Todmir and sent a strong army in the same year to his leader Yahya, son of Abdallah, son of Khalaf, in order to reduce them willingly or by force to restore peace and tranquility in the country. However, it turned out that the rebels, far from laying down their arms, returned to fight against the forces of Yahya, locking between each other on the outskirts of Lorca, the battle of Almozara, named after the name of the place where it occurred. In this battle the rebels were defeated, around 3,000 being killed. They did not care and it was necessary to send new leaders and forces. Although when approaching them hostilities were suspended, they returned to undertake them immediately when these forces were withdrawn from the country⁵³.

⁵² **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) Historia de Murcia musulmana. Zaragoza : Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, pp. 62-64

⁵³ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) Historia de Murcia musulmana. Zaragoza : Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 66

Mula

Thanks to the archaeological investigations of Rafael González Fernández and Francisco Fernández Matallana there is now more information about the life of the people who occupied the ancient city of Mula in the region of Tudmir⁵⁴:

The site now known as Hill of the Almagra (Cerro de la Almagra) is situated in the hamlet of Baños de Mula about 6km from the town of Mula. It lies on a small hill of travertine limestone next to Mula's river on its right bank just opposite the spa. It occupies an outstanding strategic position as a communications node to the northwest of the region, as the passage also to Andalusia and to the area of Archena in relation with the important route Carthago Noua-Complutum. There are no literary or epigraphic references to this Cora in ancient times. The Pact of Theodomir in 713 bears the first mention of the city, since it is virtually a fact admitted in the investigation that Mula of Tudmir was based on the Hill of Almagra.

Historians from the eighteenth century begin to mention the ruins preserved in that place. But only in the late twentieth century researchers identified this deposit with the ancient city of the Pact. Until then the identification of the Pact of Theodomir was made with the present town of Mula. In the nineties of the last century archaeological excavations revealed a large turreted wall that surrounded the city in its northern part; this was the most accessible one. They also announced an *ad sancto* necropolis in the very heart of the city with forty tombs that can be dated to around the late seventh century. The materials collected in survey and excavation, as well as some others originating from plundering show a city. Although the

⁵⁴ **GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, Rafael & FERNÁNDEZ MATALLANA, Francisco** (2000) El final de Mula: problemas de fuentes y arqueológicos. In Tudmir, XIII Centenario del Pacto (713/94H – 2013/1434 H.) <http://www.um.es/tudmir713/programa/el-final-de-mula-problemas-de-fuentes-y-arqueologicos/>

origin cannot be determined, the authors of the study propose as a hypothesis its inception in relation to the thermal exploitation along the first century A.D. Moreover, it was especially the red travertine that prevailed throughout the region in Roman times, and especially in the city of Cartagena; for example the materials of the theater.

The most remarkable discovery during excavations were the seven silver emiral dirhams which have a very short chronological band. There were seven pieces of the coin of Al-Andalus, all of them Umayyad dirhams, corresponding to the Hakam I' emirate. They form a very homogeneous unit with a view to the chronological timeline: six of the seven pieces for the year 206H (6 June 821/26 May 822 AD) and the seventh piece to 205H. (June 17, 820/5 June 821 AD). The pieces were located relatively close to each other, in an area of approximately 150m², in the *ad sanctos* necropolis of Visigothic chronology. Researchers found five of them in the building identified as a church or basilica of the same era, but within a stratigraphy with late materials in a closed set. The pieces possibly were, when they fell, in a small package, soft pouch, or other perishable materials the remains of which have not reached us. The other two pieces appeared in two distinct points.

Orihuela

Adabi and Abenalfaradi inform that Fadl died in 197 AH (812 to 813 AC), viz, a century after the conquest. Fadl was the son of Omaira surnamed Abulafla, judge or justice of the Todmir region under the rule of Amir Al-Hakam, son of Hisham. Presumably he was not the first of such a high judiciary exercise⁵⁵.

⁵⁵ **CASIRI, Michael** (1860-1870) Biblioteca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis. (Bib. Arab. Hisp.) III, p. 1285
Bib. Arab. Hisp. VII, p. 1038.; Cited by:

A year after the death of al-Fadl his son ‘Abd al-Rahmân was appointed as Qadi by the same caliph at times of al-Hakama I. We know that his brother al-Fadl served as Qadi in Tudmir at an unspecified date⁵⁶.

San Ginés de la Jara

There is a manuscript of the end of the 15th century titled *La Vida e Estoria del Bien Aventurado Sennor San Ginés de la Xara, del Campo de Cartagena* of which the transcription and study was published by Varela Hervías in 1961⁵⁷. The manuscript contains texts of different periods, among them a story that could have happened around 816. It becomes clear from the various stories that the Arabs felt devotion for the place of San Ginés de la Jara. La devoción de los ārabes a San Ginés pudo tener su origen en uno de tantos milagros de San Ginés. Destaca en este sentido un milagro del siglo XIII o IX, describiendo el Campo de Cartagena⁵⁸. The Arabs' devotion could have originated from one of the many miracles of San

GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano (1905) Historia de Murcia musulmana. Zaragoza : Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 25

⁵⁶ **CASTILLA, J.** (1991). Los Banû ‘Amîra de Murcia. In: Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus (E.O.B.A.) Volume V, Madrid, pp. 57-84.

FIERRO, Maribel & MARÍN, Manuela (1998). La islamización de las ciudades andalusíes a través de sus ulemas (s. II/VIII comienzos s. IV/X). In: Genèse de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental. Casa de Velázquez. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Madrid, p. 91.

ÁVILA, María Luisa (1994). Cargos hereditarios en la administración judicial y religiosa de al-Andalus. In: Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam: actas del Simposio Internacional (Granada, 15-18 octubre de 1991). Madrid, pp. 27-37. Citation on p. 33.

⁵⁷ **VARELA HERVÍAS, Eulogio** (1961) Historia de San Ginés de la Jara (Manuscrito del Siglo XV)”, *Murgetana.*, nº 16. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, pp. 78-117

⁵⁸ **VARELA HERVIAS, E.** (1961) Historia de San Ginés de la Jara, p. 39

Ginés. One notable miracle from the 13th or 19th century is described as *el Campo de Cartagena*²⁰.

The first occupied buildings could have been ancient Muslim *râbita*, *ribât*, or *zâwiya*⁵⁹. Such attraction and devotion of new converts to San Gines of Murcia undoubtedly derived from the existing devoting among Muslims to the Monastery de la Jara. And this persistent devotion has no other explanation than the continuity of old habits. Viz, it was the beginning of a regular attendance to *zawiya*, *râbita*, or *ribat*, and maintaining the pilgrimage controlled by Christians in the forthcoming centuries. The immediate establishment of the cult of San Gines is nothing else than the devotion that had previously existed to the tomb of a holy man or marabout who could have been there. By the time the habits changed and just San Gines who would then attract the attention of Christians and Muslims⁶⁰ was left.

⁵⁹ **POCKLINGTON, Robert** (1986) Antecedentes mozárabes y musulmanes del culto a San Ginés de la Jara”, *Historia de Cartagena*, vol. VI, Murcia: Ediciones Mediterráneo, pp. 339-352

⁶⁰ **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1965) El monasterio de San Ginés de la Jara en la Edad Media”, *Murgetana*, nº 25. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, pp. 39-90

822-852 Abd ar-Rahman II

Abd ar-Rahman II, the son of Emir Al-Hakam I, was born in Toledo. He succeeded his father as Emir of Cordoba in 822 and engaged in nearly continuous warfare against Alfonso II of Asturias, whose southward advance he halted (822–842). In 837 he suppressed a revolt of Christians and Jews in Toledo. He issued a decree by which the Christians were forbidden to seek martyrdom, and he had a Christian synod held to forbid martyrdom. In 844 Abd ar-Rahman repulsed an assault by Vikings who had disembarked in Cadiz, conquered Seville (except its citadel), and attacked Córdoba. Thereafter he constructed a fleet and naval arsenal at Seville to repel future raids.

He responded to William of Septimania's requests of assistance in his struggle against Charles the Bald's nominations. Abd ar-Rahman was famous for his public building program in Córdoba where he died in 852. He made additions to the Mosque–Cathedral of Córdoba in 833 and in 848. The building had 856 columns and was reformed by Abd al Rahman II who ordered to build a new minaret. Known to be a great poet himself, he was also well known as a patron of the arts and letters and brought learned men from all over the Islamic world to Córdoba. He was also involved in the execution of the “Martyrs of Córdoba”. The Martyrs of Córdoba⁶¹ were forty-eight Christian martyrs living in the 9th century Muslim-ruled Al-Andalus, in what is now southern Spain; their hagiography describes in detail their executions for deliberately sought capital violations of Muslim law in Al-Andalus. The martyrdoms instanced by Eulogius took place between 851 and 859.

⁶¹ **WOLF, Kenneth B.** (1988). *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge), pp. 1-119.

SAFRAN, Janina (2001). Identity and Differentiation in Ninth-Century al-Andalus. In: *Spectrum*, N° 76, pp. 573-598.

This fourth Omeyyad sultan was an encourager of poets, painters, and philosophers. Abu Meruan, the illustrious historian, lived in this reign, and Ziryab, the distinguished musician, was a court favourite. When Ziryab was on his way to the city of culture and the arts, his royal patron went out to receive him with honour and pomp. Being himself a poet and a passionate worshipper of music, Abd-er-Rahman II. was a true friend of all artists. Ziryab, the composer, was singularly versatile. We read that he invented a new process for making linen white, that he introduced asparagus into Andalusia, invented a crystal ware, and taught the use of leather beds.



Image of St. Eulogius beheaded from Cordoba's Iglesia del Juramento

It is interesting to learn that the harem of the second Abd-er-Rahman contained several cultured women. One of these was Tarub, a favourite concubine, to whom the monarch addressed these lines:

When the sun rises every day to give us light,

it reminds me of Tarub.
I am the happiest of mortals,
since I am successful in love and prosperous in war.

Another beauty of the court was Kalam, a woman of learning. She recited poetry and was gifted in music⁶².

Abd-er-Rahman II was the monarch who most furthered the acclimatizing of Oriental Arab music in Spain. He had a special section of his palace set aside for the women singers, among whom three from the great school of Medina were outstanding. They were called the "Medinans," and their room in the palace was known as the Medinans' room. They were Fadal, Alam, and Kalam. Fadal was a singer possessing all the personal qualifications possible to a woman of the time. She had been a slave to one of the daughters of Harun-al-Rashid, and had grown up in Bagdad and received her instruction there. From Bagdad she went to Medina, where she extended her knowledge and accomplishments so that she became an excellent singer. She was bought by the Emir Abd-er-Rahman II at the same time as her companion, Alam. This monarch, taken by the ability of both these artists and by their polished education and consummate skill, treated them with great distinction. The singer Kalam was not behind them in perfection of song, exquisite elegance, and fine courtesy. She was a Basque maiden who had been sent as a child to the Orient, particularly to Medina, where she became very learned, even to the point of knowing by heart many literary and historical works. She was eminent in various studies and a great reciter of Arab verses.

The young and elegant Abu'l-Walid of Alexandria also shone at the court of Abd-er-Rahman II. Of him it was said that he would have dedicated himself to music if he had not taken the advice of Isa bin Shahid, chancellor of Abd-er-Rahman II, who

⁶² CALVERT, Albert Frederick & GALLICHAN, Walter Matthew (1907). Cordova, A city of the Moors, London, p. 47.

counseled him to leave this profession so as not to be hindered in rising politically. So we find that the schools of Mecca and Medina were represented in Spain even from the time of their foundation.



Educating the young Arabs

But the fame of all other singers was obscured by the arrival of the distinguished Oriental musician and singer, Ziryab. He was the direct disciple of the Mosulis, and it was through him that the wealth of Arab music penetrated into Spain at the time when the classic school was at its height. This notable singer became the corner-stone of Spanish musical art, not only because his music spread about the Peninsula, but because of his dominating personality. The greatest Moslem historian, Ibn Hayan, dedicated much space to him in his chronicle, *Al-Muktabis* from which we will abridge as follows:

Ziryab is the nickname by which this musician is generally known, but his real name was Abu'l-Hasan Ali bin Nafi. He was under the patronage of the Emir Al-Muninin Al-Mahdi Al-Abasi. Because of his extremely dark color and the clarity of his

speech and the sweetness of his character, he was known as the Blackbird. In Bagdad Ziryab was a pupil of Ishak Al-Mosuli, whose songs he quickly learned without his master's cognizance, and, because of his intellect and facility in learning and his fine voice, he reached even greater heights than his master. It is well known that Ishak's compositions taxed the executive abilities of any outsiders, however great these might be, but Ishak did not realize how much Ziryab had learned before the latter's presentation to Harun-al-Rashid. This came about in the following way: One day Ziryab was mentioned before Harun as an advanced pupil of Al-Mosuli's, and the latter said: "Yes, I have heard some nice things from him, some clear and emotional melodies; above all some in which I have shown him unusual modifications that he has adopted, but which are my discoveries; I showed them to him, as I considered them especially fitted to Ziryab's art." At this Harun asked to hear these melodies from Ziryab, so the latter was presented. The Caliph spoke to him, and he answered gracefully, with real charm of manner. Then followed a question about his skill, and Ziryab answered:

"I can sing what the other singers know, but most of my repertory is made up of numbers suitable only for performance before a Caliph like Your Majesty. The other singers do not know these. If Your Majesty will permit, I will sing for you what human ears have never even heard." The Caliph ordered that Ishak's lute should be handed to him, but that Ziryab declined, saying: "I have brought my own lute which I made myself, stripping the wood and working it, and no other satisfies me. I have it at the palace gate, and with your permission I will send for it." Harun sent for it, and, as on examination it appeared like the one he had refused, the Caliph said: "Why were you unwilling to use your master's lute?" "If the Emir desires me to sing in my master's style, I will sing with his lute, but if I am to sing in my own style, I must play my own instrument." "They seem alike to me," answered Harun. "At

first view, yes; but even if the size and wood are the same, the weight is not. My lute weighs about a third less than Ishak's and my strings are made of silk that has not been spun with hot water which weakens them. The bass and third strings are made of lion guts, softer and more sonorous than those from any other animal. These strings are stronger than any others and withstand better the striking of the plectrum."

Pacified by this explanation, the Caliph ordered him to sing. After a few preludes on the lute Ziryab began, and so stirred Harun that he turned to Al-Mosuli and said: "If I were not persuaded that he had hidden his extraordinary ability from you, I should punish you for not having told me about this artist. You shall continue his instruction until it is completed. For my part, I wish to contribute to his full development." From then on, Ishak, sorry that he had presented Ziryab to the Caliph, became jealous and could not abide him any longer. He had a secret conversation with Ziryab in which he told him that he could not endure competition at the court. "Choose," he said, "as the world is big, either thou leavest to go to some distant place where I shall never hear of thee again, and for this I will supply thee with whatever money thou needest; or if thou remainest here I shall use all means to ruin thee. Which dost thou choose?" Ziryab, who knew Al-Mosuli, preferred to leave; so Ishak gave him all that he had promised, and Ziryab turned his face toward the countries in the west. When Al-Rashid asked about him again, Ishak answered that he was a cranky and disturbing young man.

Ziryab departed for the Occidental world and the memory of his name was lost in the Orient. On arriving in the West, he wrote to the Spanish monarch, Al-Hakam I, saying that he knew how to sing and begging for an audience at his court. Al-Hakam was delighted and invited him to Andalusia. So Ziryab set out with his wives and children, crossing at the Straits of Gibraltar to Algeciras. There he received the tragic news that Al-Hakam had

died. At this he considered turning back to Africa, but Mansur, the Jewish singer sent by Al-Hakam to meet Ziryab, persuaded him to remain and wait for word from Abd-er-Rahman II, son and successor of the dead monarch. The Jewish singer wrote to Abd-er-Rahman, telling of the occurrence, and shortly after Ziryab himself received a letter from the monarch inviting him to Cordova and expressing his pleasure in the expectation of his presence. At the same time the Emir wrote to the governors of the districts through which Ziryab was to pass, charging them to care for him and entertain him. He even sent a eunuch of the highest class to meet him with mules and all the paraphernalia and provisions needed for the trip. Ziryab entered Cordova at night, as being more decorous for his family, and was lodged in one of the best houses, which had been prepared with all essentials, even to presents of garments. After three days of repose, he was invited to present himself to Abd-er-Rahman, and was promised the following honorarium in writing: every month two hundred dinars, and his four sons twenty dinars a month; beside this, three thousand dinars annually one thousand on each of the Moslem festivals, and five hundred each at the festivals of Mahrjan and Nuruz. In addition to these he was to receive two hundred measures of barley and a hundred measures of wheat; all this without counting various orchards and farmhouses, valued at forty thousand dinars, which were given him. With all these arrangements made, and Ziryab's contentment assured, the monarch invited him to frequent the palace as his table companion, so that his singing might be heard.

Ziryab is said to have claimed that the spirits inspired him in his dreams, not only for singing, but for all the music which he was to execute in concert and if he awoke in the middle of the night, he would immediately call his two slaves, Gazlan and Huneida. Each would take his lute and Ziryab would at once teach them to play the composition and then he would write down the verses. After this he would go back to bed. This is the same tale

as was told about Ibra him Al-Mosuli; but such tales are dubious God only knows what really took place.



Oud player
Ludwig Deutsch

It was in Andalusia that Ziryab added a fifth string to the lute. The original lute had four, and, according to the symbolism of the time, these corresponded to the four humors of the body. The first was yellow and symbolized bile; the second red, for the blood; the third white for phlegm; and the bass string was

black, symbolic of melancholy. Thus a soul was needed for the lute, and Ziryab added another red string between the second and third. In this way the instrument acquired more delicacy of expression and greater range of possibilities. He also invented a plectrum made of eagle quill instead of the wooden one commonly used. This new plectrum had a better edge, and was neater and lighter, so that it was easier to handle and did not wear the strings so quickly. Ziryab, beside being a good poet, was well educated in many subjects astronomy, geography, physics, meteorology, and so forth. But above all was this true of his own art, for he had a vast repertory of ten thousand songs, a number never exceeded by other artists, according to Ptolemy and the ancient writers. He was perspicacious and enjoyed all sorts of ingenious devices. He knew all branches of literature, his social contacts were most delicate and courteous, his conversation very agreeable, and his urbanity exquisite, thus combining all the qualities needed for a gentleman of the court, qualities not possessed by all others in his station. The palace officials and other people of importance in Cordova accepted Ziryab's conduct as a social model, and many of his innovations lasted through the following centuries, always connected with his name. Before his arrival in Spain men and women wore their hair parted in the middle and falling on both sides, covering the eyebrows. But when the fashionable people saw that Ziryab, his wives, and sons had their foreheads uncovered, with the hair trimmed level over the eyebrows and slanting toward the ears, they imitated him, until even the servants, eunuchs, and slaves adopted this fashion. Many customs in perfumes, clothes, cooking, and the use of crystal tableware originated with this musician. His dinners became the fashion in Andalusia. But it is the musical fashions set by him that most interest us. The historian we are quoting tells us that it was the constant practice in Spain for those learning to sing to begin with the *anexir* or recitative as a first exercise, accompanying themselves with some kind of instrument of percussion. This was immediately followed by simple songs, and later more

stirring varieties, even *hezejs*, were attempted. This was the method introduced by Ziryab.

When this master gave a singing-lesson he commanded the pupil to sit on a leather cushion and force his voice. If the pupil's voice was powerful, the teaching began without further preliminaries, but if it was a small voice he was ordered to bind his abdomen with a turban cloth to support it, not leaving the voice much leeway in the center of the body, with the intention that it should come out of the mouth. If the pupil did not open his jaws enough, Ziryab ordered him to keep in his mouth over night a bit of wood three fingers in width, so as to acquire the habit of opening his jaws. With the idea of observing the natural qualities of the prospective pupil's voice, Ziryab made him shout for some time at the top of his lungs the phrase, *ya hajam*, or simply *ah*. If Ziryab noted that the voice was clear, strong, and pure, without nasality or impediments of speech, or difficulties of respiration, and if he considered that the aspirant had the right personality for singing, then he accepted him, but not otherwise.

Thus far, Ibn Hayan! All this information comes through people influenced by the musical tradition or by the artist himself; but there were contrary opinions. The Spanish poet, Al-Ghazzal, offended perhaps by the prestige of this singer from the East, let loose his invectives and satire against Ziryab, but when Abd-er-Rahman heard of this violent attitude, he commanded Al-Ghazzal to cease. Ibn Abdi Rabbihi, in his *Encyclopedia*, also treated Ziryab contemptuously, doubtless echoing some of the traditional Arab feeling against singers. Some of the employees of the ex-chequer strongly opposed paying out of the public funds thirty thousand dinars, the sum which on one occasion Abd-er-Rahman ordered given to Ziryab. But in general even the priests delighted in the remembrance of Ziryab's name as that of an artist of proverbial fame, one whose music and teaching really formed the traditional Spanish school.

Ibn Khaldun tells us that the musical knowledge which Ziryab left as a legacy to Spain was treasured until the provincial and civic governors became independent. Adherence to this musical tradition was widespread in Seville, and when this town decayed, music passed over into Africa and the Almagreb, some traces of it were still found in the fourteenth century, notwithstanding the decadence of the African Empire.

Until the last days of Granada the poets remembered Ziryab, whom they classed with the illustrious Mated. The school of Ziryab took root in Spain, thanks to his many immediate followers, first among whom were the members of his own family. Ziryab had ten children, eight boys and two girls. Every one of these adopted the art of music, though not all reached the same eminence. The best singer was Ubaydu-l-lah; next Abdu'r-Rahman, who was so vain and self-satisfied that he alienated the good will of everybody. Kasim was a good artist and an excellent individual; Muhammad was effeminate. Ziryab's two daughters were much esteemed; Hamduna, the more skillful artist of the two, married as important a personage as the chancellor of the realm, Hashim bin Abdu'l-Aziz. She died before her sister, Alya, who, being the sole survivor of the family, was much sought after as a teacher, drawing to herself all the clientele due to her father's prestige.

Ziryab, moreover, educated one of his slave-girls and taught her his best songs. She was a lovely maiden, called Metaa, and Abd-er-Rahman II became enamored of her when she went to the palace, sometimes to sing and at other times to pour the wines. This slavemaiden noticed the sovereign's passion, though he had not shown it in public, out of consideration for Ziryab. One day, therefore, abandoning all prudence Metaa indicated her feeling in the verses of her song, chiding the Emir for not expressing his. When Ziryab understood the situation, he hastened to present the slave to Abd-er-Rahman, so as to enable

him henceforth to keep her at the palace. Another pupil of Ziryab's was Masabih, a woman slave with a beautiful voice. Her master, the secretary of Abu Hafs Omar bin Kalil, showed himself very grudging in refusing all appeals to hear her. The poet Abu Omar bin Abdi Rabbihi made such a request and was denied, so he composed some verses in which he said to the owner:

“Dost thou show thyself avaricious about the voice of a bird that warbles? I think no man has ever before shown this vice; For, however many are the people who hear her. The treasure of her voice is neither lessened nor increased.”

Ziryab's songs were carefully collected and preserved by Aslam bin Abdu-l-Aziz, a relative of Hamduna's. He knew all of Ziryab's songs as well as their history and classification, and could perform them. He therefore made an admirable collection, which was later popularized. Thus it will be seen that Oriental music penetrated and over spread Spain, brought by slave singers who were not Arabian by race, or singers who had once been slaves, or foreigners who had learned in the Oriental schools. The early Medinans found here their later followers, and the classics of the Mosulis became dominant in the Peninsula through the medium of that exceptional artist, Ziryab, a direct disciple of Ishak Al-Mosuli. The same songs and instruments were used in Spain as in the Orient through the middle of the ninth century A.D.⁶³.

The Spanish Arabs were extremely fond of learning. Indeed, it is due to them to a very great extent that literature and science were kept afloat in Europe during the ages that followed the invasion of the Barbarians, as the Huns, Vandals, Goths, and Visigoths were generally called. That interval known as the 'Dark Ages' was kept alight by the Arabs alone. Abd-ar-

⁶³ **RIBERA, Julián** (1929). *Music in ancient Arabia and Spain*. London, pp. 99-107.

Rahman II. established a library⁶⁴ at Cordova during his reign, A.D. 822-852.

Tudmir

When Abdallah, the son of Abd ar-Rahman I who reigned between 756-788, was informed in Tangiers that this nephew Alhakem had departed from life, it soon appeared that the snows of age had not wholly extinguished the fires of ambition in his heart. Vainly confiding in the help of his sons, he passed the Strait with a considerable force, causing himself to be proclaimed King of Spain in his camp and in such of the towns as had no means of resisting the entrance of his people. The King Abderahman, informed of this movement on the part of his uncle, proceeded with his cavalry to meet him, and having defeated the forces of Abdallah in several encounters, compelled them to retire by the Land of Todmir to Valencia, in which city, after repeated skirmishes, in all of which he had but evil fortune, the old man was compelled to shut himself up. Abderahman then sat down before the city, determined to put an end to the commotion thus excited before he should raise the siege. The two sons of Abdullah now arrived at the royal camp to intercede for their father with the king, and furthermore intending to persuade the former into making miserable conditions with his justly-offended sovereign. The natural clemency and generosity of Abderahman rendered their task an easy one, so far as he was concerned, nor did the mercy of heaven fail to assist their good intentions as regarded their father. Now Abdallah had made all arrangements for a sortie with his troops against those of Cordova; and on a certain Thursday he had spoken to his people, saying, “ To-morrow, friends and companions, we will make our prayer of Juma, and, if it be the will of God, we will go forth on the Saturday with the blessing of Allah, and defend our cause against the foe, if God shall so please.” The Juma having come, and his people

⁶⁴ ARBUTHNOT, F.F. (1890). Arabic Authors, London, p. 9.

being assembled before the Mosque of Bab Todmir or Gate of Murcia, Abdallah made them an oration, at the close of which were these words: “ Oh, ye noble companies of brave warriors, may God be merciful to you! I lieve that we ought now to ask for His divina goodness, that he should teach us the, way we ought to go and the part we ought to take, having no other desire than that of conforming ourselves to His divine will. I hope from His mercy that He will show us and make us understand what is most suitable for us to do.” The aged Prince then raised his hands and eyes to heaven, and said, “ Oh God, the Lord Allah! if my demand be just and good, if I have a better right than hath the grandson of my father to the throne of our country, do thou aid and give me victory over him; but if his right to the empire have a better foundation than hath the claim of thy servant now before Thee, bless him in that right, and do not permit the horrors and misfortunes of the war now between us to continue; support his power and state with Thy hand, and let his cause triumph.” To this all those of Abdallah’s host, and many of the inhabitants of the city who were then present, replied, “ So be it.” At that moment there rose a very cold and icy wind, a thing altogether unknown in those climates, which caused a sudden accident whereby Abdallah was cast to the earth and remained speechless, in such sort that they bore him to the palace, and the prayer was finished without him. After remaining without the power of speech for several days, the tongue of Abdallah was loosened by the hand of God, and he spake as follows:—“ God hath concluded this affair, and hath not permitted me further to proceed with an undertaking which is contrary to His divine will.” He then dispatched a Vizier to the camp to summon the Prince Esfah and Casim to his presence; he wrote letters at the same time to King Abderahman, offering his allegiance with entire willingness of heart. Immediately afterwards he caused the gates of the city to be thrown open for the entrance of the king.

The Vizier having delivered his letters to the sons of Abdallah and to the king, the former, first requiring permission

from their sovereign, repaired to the city; but when the Vizier of Abdalla had announced their approach to his master, that prince came forth with all his most important officers, and having met his sons, the whole cavalcade then turned back and rode together to the pavilion of King Abderahman-the venerable old man riding between his sons, and followed by all his train. Arrived at the king's tent, Esfah dismounted to hold the bridle of his father's horse, while Casim placed himself at his stirrup, and thus aiding him to dismount, they then led him to the presence of Abderahman, whose hand Abdallab proceeded to kiss in token of subjection: but the king received him in his arms, treating his ancient relative with great affection, and showing him all possible honour. Uninterrupted peace reigned between them from that time, Abderahman conferring on his uncle the government of Todmir for his life; and there the old man lived until the year 208, when he departed to the mercy of Allah. Of the people who had accompanied Abdullah from Africa, one part settled in his new government of Todmir, and the other returned to Tangiers. The death of Prince Abdalla took place exactly two years after the events above related⁶⁵.

A year later Umayyad b. Mu'awiya b. Hisham, together with Muhajir b. 'Utba passed through Tudmir. Both were responsible for directing the Umayyad troops in 824. In Tudmir fighting continued between Yemenis and mudaris on Lorca's grounds, Abu l-Šammaj fighting for the Umayyad government. At that time tough confrontation took place between two parties in which many people died. Umayyad b. Mu'awiya seized two of the rebels - Abdun b. 'Abd Allah and' Umar b. 'Ubaydun, who he chained and brought to Cordova⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ **CONDE, J.A.** (1854). History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Translated from the Spanis of Dr. J.A. Condé, by Mrs. Jonathan Foster, Volume I, pp. 268-270.

⁶⁶ **HERRERO SOTO, Omayra** (2012) El perdón del gobernante (al-Andalus, ss II/VIII-V/XI). Una aproximación a los valores político-religiosos de una sociedad islámica pre-moderna. Tesis doctoral. Universidad de Salamanca, p. 52

Abd al-Rahman II was also known as a great builder and organizer. He founded the town of Murcia⁶⁷ in 831⁶⁸, although other historians indicate the year 825. The issue of the date was finally settled by Pocklington⁶⁹ who proved that the correct date is 825.

Islamic sources cite general Unmayya Ibn Mu'awiya Ibn Hisan as the peacemaker of the Cora of Tudmir, and general Chabir was the first governor of Murcia.

According to the *al-Rawd al-Mitar* Murcia was built by the governor Djabir b. Malik b. Labid⁷⁰. *Kitab al-Rawd al-Mitar, The Book of the Fragrant Garden* is a fifteenth-century Arabic geography by Muhammad bin Abd al-Munim al-Himyari which serves as primary source for the history of Muslim Spain in the Middle Ages, though it is based in part on the earlier account by Muhammad al-Idrisi. It was edited and translated into French by E. Levi-Provençal⁷¹ in 1938 and into Spanish by Maria Pilar Maestro González⁷² in 1963.

The decisive drive to research the name of Murcia came from the hand of A. Gonzalez Blanco when he proposed in 1981 to

⁶⁷ FERNÁNDEZ NIETO, F.J. & MOLINA GÓMEZ, J.A. (2006) El nombre y el origen de Murcia: la posible impronta cristiana en la fundación de la ciudad. In: *Espacio y Tiempo*, pp. 133-157

⁶⁸ MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio (1972) La cora de Tudmir según al-'Udri. In: *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, 4, p. 63

⁶⁹ POCKLINGTON, Robert (1989) Precisiones acerca de la fecha de fundación de Murcia. In: *Murcia Musulmana*, Murcia, pp. 55-61

⁷⁰ HOUTSMA, M. Th. (1936) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*. E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1936, Volume VI, p. 733

⁷¹ LEVI-PROVENÇAL, E. and AL-MUNIM AL-HIMYARI (1938) *La Peninsule iberique au Moyen age d'après le Kitab al-Rawd al-mitar d'Ibn Abd al-Mun'im al-Himayari* (Leiden, E. J. Brill)

⁷² MAESTRO GONZÁLEZ, Maria Pilar (1963) *Kitab ar-Rawd al-Mitar* (Valencia)

link the name Murcia with water and leafy places. The proposal originates in the adjective romance *Murcio/a*, certainly related to the term *myrteus/murteus*, with significance of “place of myrtle” or simply “green place”⁷³. Other researchers suggest that the name of the actual city of Murcia possibly comes from a primitive Christian denomination as a great deal of its first inhabitants were descendants of Hispanians who received Christian education⁷⁴.

In the year 227/843 died the Cadi of Todmir, Abderahman Ben Fadal El Caneni of Ateka, a man renowned for his integrity; his son, Aben Fadal, was in like manner distinguished for ability and excellence, wherefore Abderahman conferred on him the charge which had been held by his father; and the people of the district thus confided to him returned thanks to the king for that appointment. Some years later, precisely in 852 A.D. Amira Ben Abderahman Ben Marun El Ateki of Tadmir also died: he was celebrated for his great knowledge, and gifts in the composition of verse, and is known also by the name of Abulfadal. His death caused much sorrow, and he was long lamented⁷⁵.

⁷³ **GONZÁLEZ BLANCO, Antonino** (1981) *Las otras Murcias de España. Nuevos datos para la significación del topónimo Murcia*, Murgetana 61, pp. 5-10

GONZÁLEZ BLANCO, Antonino (1989) El nombre de Murcia. Nuevas perspectivas para su estudio», en F. FLÓREZ ARROYUELO, *Murcia Musulmana*, Murcia, pp. 75-84

GONZÁLEZ BLANCO, Antonino (1996) *Urbanismo romano en la Región de Murcia*, Murcia, p. 158

GONZÁLEZ BLANCO, Antonino (1998) *Historia de Murcia en las épocas tardorromana, bizantina y visigoda*, Murcia, pp. 72-74

⁷⁴ **FERNANDEZ NIETO, Francisco Javier & MOLINA GÓMEZ, José Antonio** (2006) El nombre y el origen de Murcia: La posible impronta cristiana en la fundación de la ciudad. En: *Espacio y tiempo en la percepción de la Antigüedad Tardía Antig. Crist.*(Murcia) XXIII, pp. 133-157

⁷⁵ **CONDE, J.A.** (1854). *History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain*. Translated from the Spanis of Dr. J.A. Condé, by Mrs. Jonathan Foster, Volume I, pp. 290 and 295.

Maqqari remembers that the dominions of the Goth Theodomir were called *Belād Tudmír* (the country of Theodomir), the city of Murcia (the *Murgí* of Pomponius Mela), or some other city contiguous to it, where he fixed his residence, being naturally (called *Medinah Tudmír* (the city of Theodomir), and Hadhrat-Tudmír, the court or residence of Theodomir. According to the author of the *Audhahu-l-mesālek* (fo. 151, *verso*), Murcia was entirely built by the Arabs, with the materials of a Roman city in the neighbourhood. Abū-l-fedā (Geog. fo. 47, *verso*) says that this took place during the reign of the Bení Umeyyah at Cordova. See also Ibn Khallekān, at the life of Abū Bekr Mohammed Ibnu-l-hoseyn (No. 634, Tyd. Ind)⁷⁶.

Many natives of Todmir, as good Muslims, fulfilled the commandment of pilgrimage to Mecca, visiting the different capitals of Spain, Africa and Egypt, where they could acquire beneficial training next to a famous doctor in the Muslim world.

Traveling to the East was ridden with difficulties due to frequent shipwrecks. However, there was another danger - that of attacks on pilgrims' caravans. María Luisa Ávila let us know that the oldest of Adalusi biographical dictionaries is that of Ibn Harith al-Khushani, known as *Akhbar al-fuqaha, wa-l-muhaddithin*, encompassing the ninth and tenth centuries. This work gives us a testimony of an attack on pilgrims' caravans, as appears in the following account by Ibn Harith:

Ahmad b. Maysara came back to al-Andalus before the year 290 [902], when Ibrahim b. Ahmad b. al-Aghlab was ruling over Ifriqiya.

⁷⁶ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dín Ibni-l-khattib* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallari; Translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume I, p. 377.

In the same caravan was also traveling ‘Ubayd Allah al-Shi’i, and it was Ahmad b. Maysara who advised him to behave more humbly and to abandon his mighty ways. Ahmad b. Maysara told ‘Ubayd Allah, "In the Maghreb this behavior is dangerous and I fear for your safety because of the Berber thieves. You will be ruined and be the cause of our ruin." ‘Ubayd Allah accepted this advice and became more subdued, but it was not long before the caravan was attacked by a party of Berbers who looted and plundered it. ‘Ubayd Allah was left with only a couple of loads of flax with which he was able to arrive in Tripoli⁷⁷.

Cordoba, Seville, Cairceuan in Africa, Alexandria in Egypt, and Medina were at the time of the Caliphate the training centers most frequented by Spanish Muslims, but the most favored by his presence was Medina, where Málic became the prince of science of the Islamic law, as were his teachers and, after his death, his own disciples. Since Medina, the capital of Hechaz, was located at the path of the pilgrims coming from the West to Mecca and was the greatest analogy of civilization among the natives of both parts relative to other countries in the East, according to Ahenjaldún these pilgrims preferred to learn of other capitals that were not less celebrated by their doctors, and that it was introduced and accepted in Spain, the Málic school of jurisprudence founded in the literal tradition, rather than the one in Abuhanifa which serves as the base of deduction and first analogy. The Almouata and the Almodauana were a collection of traditions and a kind of digest enclosing the decisions of the famous doctor of law, both forming the system of jurisprudence taught by him. These were the two works preferentially studied by Traditionalists native of Murcia in their wanderings⁷⁸.

⁷⁷ **ÁVILA, María Ávila** (2002) The search for knowledge: Andalusí Scholars and their Travels to the Islamic East. In: *Medieval Prosopography* 23, pp. 125-139

⁷⁸ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905). *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, pp. 85-86.

Orihuela

Once fulfilled the religious precept, these returned to their country after being enlightened by the acquired teachings, which they passed to their children and countrymen, many of them deserving for their knowledge the highest positions of public administration in their own cities or neighbourhoods, especially the position of Qadi or general judge, notary, injustice repairman, market police, prayer president, preacher of the mosque and others, and these posts could be passed on from father to son together with the instruction. So after Fadl, son of Amíra, a native of Orihuela, the first Qadi of Todmir, mentioned Arab authors, he appears covered with equal dignity under the orders of emir Alháquem, the son of someone called Abderráman, son of Fadl, son of Amíra, who died in 841 or 842, and passed his position on to his younger brother named after his father, Fadl, son of Fadl, son of Amíra, who died in 878 or 879⁷⁹.

A son of the Qadi Abderráman, son of Fadl, named Asorah and nicknamed Abulósna, native of Murcia, moved after traveling some capitals of Spain to Caireuan and then to Egypt where he stayed for some time completing his education and listening to the most famous traditionalists of his time, and died at one hundred and five years of age in 907 or 908. Qadi Fadl, son of Fadl, son of Amíra, had two sons named Amíra and Abderráman, both natives of Orihuela, who later started as lawyers right next to their father, marched to the East, the former did so some time after the latter, in order to fulfill the religious precept of the pilgrimage and improve his education; the first of them died in 897 or 898 and the second was surprised by death on the road on return from the pilgrimage in 906 or 907. After Abderráman, son of Fadl, and before his brother appears Jálid as Qadi of Todmir, Jálid, son of Almotain,

⁷⁹ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905). *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, pp. 85-86.

nicknamed Aburazin, a native of Elvira where he had exercised the same position before. Some of these native Todmir lawyers who marched to the East established their residence there devoted to the study and teaching. Such was Ybrahim, son of Muza, nicknamed Abuishac, who lived in Egypt, Mecca, and Baghdad, and lastly returned to the first region where he died in 912 or 913. The following people are cited among others as famous traditionalists and natural philosophers of Lorca: Jalaf, son of Jalaf, son of Hixem, who died in 916 or 917; Mohámed, son of Chonaidin, of acute and insightful ingenuity for interpreting the meaning of phrases, died in 933 or 934; Hafs, son of Mohámed, son of Hafs, a disciple of Abulósna, son of Abderráman, Qadi of the region, son of Fadl, died in 936 or 937; Málic, son of Turail, nicknamed Abulcásim, who died in Orihuela at 80 years of age in 965 or 966: a son of the aforementioned Jalaf, named Áhmed and nicknamed Abulabas, who was taught by his father-in-law and tradition and died in 967 or 968 at 82 years of age; Abdála, son of Asuad, who died in 973 or 974; Mohámed; son of Batal, son of Uahab, the Temimi, who made two trips to the East - the first in 939 and the second in 957 on which he listened to many famous doctors and, once back in Spain, taught tradition in Cordoba, and died in Lorca in 976 or 977. It was often the case in Arab Spain that many men illustrious for science and religion came out of their study and meditation to fight in the front row against Christians in the North; among them is worthy of special mention the famous jurist and ascetic of the Todmir choir who won the dictation of "Martyr of the Holy War". His name was Mohámed, son of Abulhisam Táhir, and he was a man of extraordinary merit, since after making his first studies in his hometown and in Cordoba he went to the East where he spent several years between Medina, Mecca, Jerusalem, and other cities, getting the fame of his knowledge to be known from East to West. When he returned to Todmir, he established his home in Murcia on the outskirts of the capital in a farmhouse belonging to the Benitáhir in which a building was built,

decorated with inscriptions and art objects; there was an orchard, which he cultivated himself, and ate fruit from. But not because of this, according to his biographers, he neglected his duty in the holy war. He left the delights of his home and joined the ranks of Mohámed, son of Abuámir Almanzor, and their leaders attending the conquest of Zamora and Coimbra, and later went back to marabout from the border, becoming famous for his courage and prowess until he was killed in the campaign of Talavera in 988 or 989.

It is curious to see how the familiar tendency of serving in positions of responsibility on the legal and religious grounds does not change with the change of location. There are many that were forced to migrate to another city before the Christian advance, without it meaning a change in position.

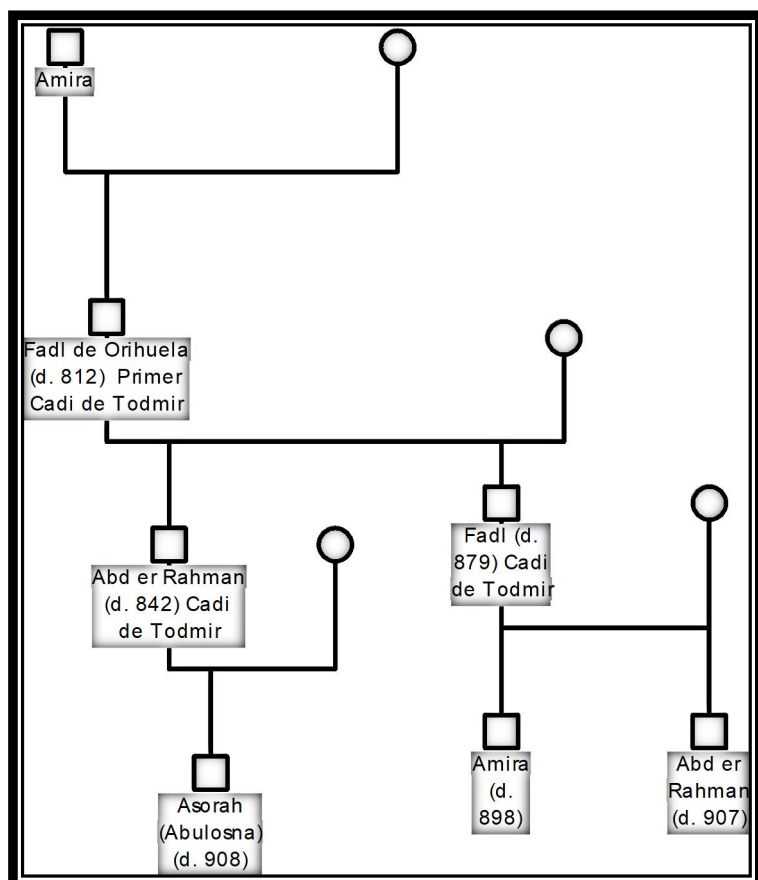
They were ulemas that made the *rihla*. But the second family of importance with regards to the ulama are the Banû Jattâb and the Banû Abî Yamra. The descendants of this character join the world of the ulama in 222/836-837 when his great-grandson and his two sons make the pilgrimage, study in Egypt and Qayrawân with one of the teachers they had in this city. Sahnûn study their legal compilation, the *Mudawwana*, and it's the transmission of this work that keeps them in the world of the ulama. In the period under study it does not seem that they were appointed as Qadis. Their activity happened in the second half of s. III/IX and draws attention to the high percentage of those who do the *rihla*, which was undoubtedly affected by Tudmir's geographical location. One of the destinations is still Misr, where one of the ulamas even gets to settle, with which other Andalusians will study. Ibn Waddâh's generation does not seem to have exercised any influence, while the change was noticeable in the influence of Fadl b. Salama, a teacher based in Pechina. Finally in Lorca and Orihuela the ulamas of these two places die early IV/X century. They study in Cordoba, Pechina and Elvira, but they don't do the *rihla* and dedicate themselves

to *fiqh*. Contrarily to Tudmir, in Lorca there was a disciple of Ibn Waddâh⁸⁰.

⁸⁰ **CASTILLA, J.** (1991). Los Banû ‘Amîra de Murcia. In: Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus (E.O.B.A.) Volume V, Madrid, pp. 57-84.

FIERRO, Maribel & MARÍN, Manuela (1998). La islamización de las ciudades andalusíes a través de sus ulemas (s. II/VIII comienzos s. IV/X). In: Genèse de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental. Casa de Velázquez. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Madrid, p. 91.

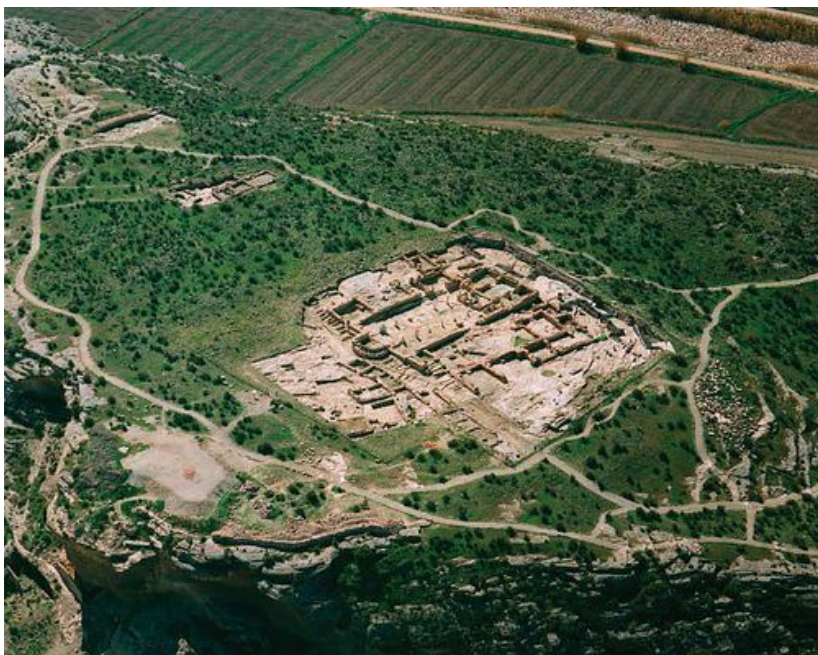
ÁVILA, María Luisa (1994). Cargos hereditarios en la administración judicial y religiosa de al-Andalus. In: Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam: actas del Simposio Internacional (Granada, 15-18 octubre de 1991). Madrid, pp. 27-37. Citation on p. 33.



Hellin

The archaeological fieldwork carried out in El Tolmo de Minateda (Hellín, Albacete) has made it possible to recover the traces of an Islamic and Visigoth town that was abandoned during the second half of the 9th century AC. In the archaeological contexts of use, abandonment and destruction of the emiral town a series of coins both Islamic and of earlier periods have been found. The contextualization of the numismatic record permits a comprehensive vision of the monetary circulation in this emiral town and allows us to offer

some further views of historical, numismatic, and archaeological character⁸¹.



Excavations at the Tolman Minateda with the basilica in the center.
Source: <http://www.hellin.net/getsemani/HELLIN.htm>

⁸¹ **ABAD CASAL, Lorenzo & GUTIÉRREZ LLORET, Sonia** (1997) Iyih (El Tolmo de Minateda, Hellín, Albacete). Una civitas en el limes Visigodo-Bizantino. In: La tradición en a Antigüedad Tardía. Antig. Crist. (Murcia) XIV, pp. 591-600

MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio (1971) Iyyu(h): otra ciudad yerma hispano-musulmana. In: Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, 3, pp. 67-84

852-886 Muhammad I

Muhammad I (823–886) was the Umayyad emir of Cordoba from 852 to 886 in the Al-Andalus. Muhammad was born in Córdoba. During the reign of Mohammed I, the work of the Mosque was continued ; the walls and portals were improved, and the maksurrah, or railed sanctum for the Khalif, was also built. The ruler attended the services in great pomp on Fridays, approaching the Mosque by an underground passage from his palace⁸².

The reign of Muhammad I was marked by several revolts and Separatists movements of the Muladi (Muslims of ethnic Iberian origin) and Mozarabs (Christians living in the Muslim-majority areas). The Banu Qasi Muladi family, led by Mūsā ibn Mūsā, allied with the Arista family of the Kingdom of Navarre, and rebelled, proclaiming himself “third king of Spain” (after Muhammad and Ordoño I of Asturias). The rebel Umayyad officer Ibn Marwan returned to Mérida and also rebelled against the emir who, unable to quench the revolt, allowed him to found a free city (Badajoz, in what is now the Spanish region of Extremadura) in 875. Finally, Toledo rebelled with the support of Ordoño I, but was defeated in the battle of Guazaleta. In 880 Umar ibn Hafsun, a man of likely Visigothic origin⁸³,

⁸² CALVERT, Albert Frederick & GALLICHAN, Walter Matthew (1907). Cordova, A city of the Moors, London, p. 50.

⁸³ This is refuted by WASSERSTEIN, David J. (2002). Inventing tradition and constructing identity: the genealogy of ‘Umar ibn Hafsun between christianity and islam. In: Al-Qantara, XXIII, 2, pp. 269-297. Wasserstein observes:

"Umar b. Hafsûn, the famous anti-Umayyad rebel in al-Andalus in the ninth century, laid claim at one stage in his career to a long and distinguished ancestry, including several generations of Muslims and four Christian generations. In this article I argue that the ancestry is an invention, invented to serve immediate political needs. There is no reason to suppose it genuine; we have no other example of such a genealogy from the Islamic world and scarcely any from anywhere else; and the genealogy presents other problems. The consequences of this are of some significance: first,

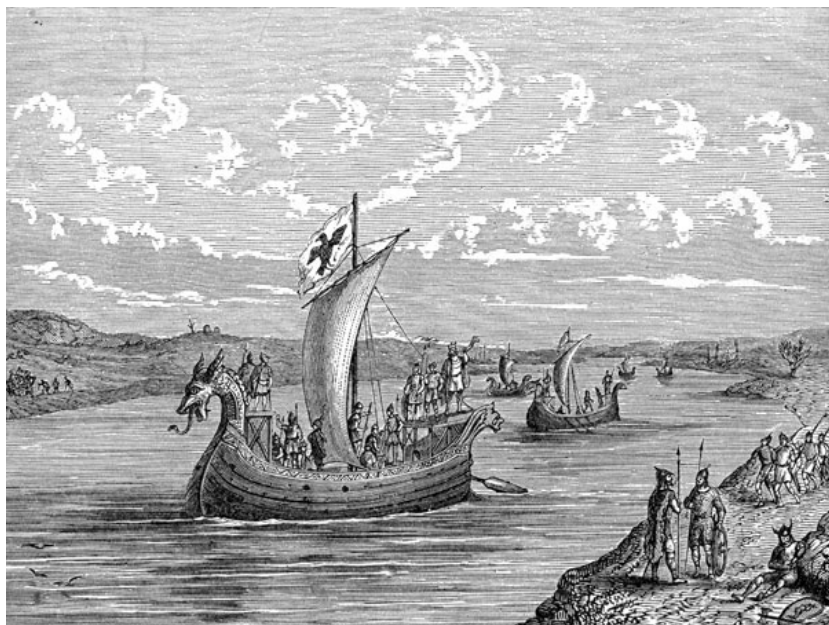
started also a revolt which was finally suppressed only in 928, under Abd ar-Rahman III ibn Muhammad. Muhammad I died in 886, being succeeded by his son al-Mundhir ibn Muhammad I.

Tudmir

Ibn Adhari wrote about a Viking Expedition to Spain, and in this case to Todmir and the town of Orihuela:

In the year 245 (8 April, 859—March 27, 860) Madjus were seen again, and this time with 62 ships on the Western coasts. They found them well guarded, for Moslem ships cruised from the coast of France (in the Mediterranean) to that of Galicia in the Far West. Two of their ships, the vanguard of the others, were hunted by the guardships and taken in a harbour in the province of Beja. Silver, gold, prisoners, and provisions were found in them. The other Madjus ships sailed on along the coast, and arrived at the mouth of the river by Seville. Then the Emir bade the army start, and made known everywhere that men should come under the banners of the Hadjib, Isa-ibn-Hasan. Madjus left the river mouth and sailed to Algeziras, which they took, and where they burnt the grand mosque.

understanding the genealogy as an invention enables us to understand the career of Ibn Hafsûn himself in a different light, and the better to assess what he was doing (and when) in the course of his long career. Secondly, we are in a position to look very differently at modern interpretations of his career: understanding the genealogy as a forgery means that we have no longer any reason to see Ibn Hafsûn as a descendant of late Visigothic nobility, and hence casts some doubt on the view of his activity as some sort of local Christian political revanchism.



Viking ship
19th century engraving.

Then they crossed over to Africa, and plundered the inhabitants of that country, whereupon they returned to the coast of Spain, landed on the coast of Todmir. This was their second attack to Todmir, and advanced to the fort of Orihuela. Then they sailed to France, and spent the winter there. They made many prisoners, took much money, and made themselves masters of a city where they settled, and which to-day is called by their name. Then they returned to the coast of Spain, but they had already lost more than forty of their ships (in a storm), and when they joined battle with the fleet of the Imir Mohammed on the coast of Sidona, they lost two others, laden with great riches. Their other ships went on their way⁸⁴.

⁸⁴ **UNKNOWN** (1907). Saga book of the Viking Club, pp. 371-371.

Victor Emanuel Aguirre stated that the texts of *Kamil fi-I-Ta'rij*, by the Mesopotamian Ibn Al Atir (1166-1233) are also of importance and apart from the first expedition of 844 they also give information about the second expedition in 858-859 to Tudmir:

In that year – 245 of Hegira (8th April 859-27, March 860) – the “madjus” parted from Al-Andalus on their ships towards other lands occupied by Muslims. Then Muhammad Ibn Abd Al Rahman, prince of the Muslim lands, ordered the troops to part against them. The ships of the “madjus”, which were heading towards Isbiliya (Seville), berthed off Algeciras, looting the periphery and burning down the great mosque. Afterwards they parted towards the African coast and disembarked near Nekur; then they returned to Al Andalus, where the inhabitants of Tudmir (kingdom of Teodorimo, present day Murcia) run away, and they took the castle of Uriwala (Orihuela). Afterwards, they continued towards the border with Ifrang (France), where they also did pillage, got a good booty and took many prisoners. On their way back, they met with the squadron of Muhammad, who burned down the ships of the infidels and captured other two, whose cargo was taken as plunder. For all this, the infidels were furious and they battled with twice the energy, this is why many Muslims suffered martyrdom. The ships of the “madjus” proceeded towards Banbaluna (Pamplona). There they succeeded in taking the lord of the city, the Frankish Garsiya (García Íñiguez 851?-870?), who had to pay a rescue of ninety thousand dinars⁸⁵.

Furtheron Aguirre expressed his wishes to see one day a revision of all Arabic texts and that the Ibn Hayyan's *Al-Muqtabis* would be translated from Arabic. Two years later this was the case when Ann Christys wrote her book about the Vikings in the South. However, the texts of Ibn Hayyan does not say anything new about Tudmir:

They abandoned the land of al-Andalus, seeking the [opposite?] shore and took possession of it and took possession of its coasts. Then they returned to the east coast of al-Andalus and appeared on the coast of

⁸⁵ **AGUIRRE, Victor Emanuel** (2013). The Viking Expeditions to Spain during the 9th Century. In: *Mindre Skrifter*, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Southern Denmark, N° 30, p. 42

Tudmir. Then they came to the fortress (husn) of Orihuela. They went to Ifranja (Francia) and over-wintered there and obtained captives and wealth. They took possessioiz of a city that is named after them to this day. They went away to the sea of al-Andalus and more than forty ships were destroyed. They were met by the ships that had been prepared for them by Qarqāshīsh Ibn Shakrūh⁸⁶.

European history shows us nothing analogous to the mutual hatred — sometimes stifled, more often inflamed — existing between two races, ever ready to fly at each other's throats on the most trivial pretexts. The district of Damascus, for instance, was for two years the scene of relentless warfare because a Ma'addite had plucked a melon growing in a Yemenite's garden; and in Murcia blood flowed in torrents for seven years because a Ma'addite, as he passed a Yemenite's field, had chanced thoughtlessly to tear off a vine-leaf. As indicated before, those years there was a war of seven years between the Yemenites and the Ma'addites⁸⁷.

Most of Visigothic Spain had just fallen to the Muslims, with the exception of Todmir (around Cartagena, where the Visigoths held out until 756), Asturia and the lands of the Basques.

The first attack of the Vikings that was made on the coast of Spain was that in 844 one during the kingdom of king Ramiro I of Asturia. Thereafter they sailed to the south of Spain and continued their way of destroying, plundering and setting fire to villages, churches and mosques. The damages were so great that the Vikings were called «the enemies of mankind» because they were even worse than the Muslims. In order to protect the coast

⁸⁶ **CHRISTYS, Ann** (2015). *Vikings in the South: Voyages to Iberia and the Mediterranean*, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, London, p. 49.

⁸⁷ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 66 and 265.

in the future ships were build in Tarragona, Carthagená and Cadiz⁸⁸.

The Vikings first made an attack on the coast of Spain

In this year (263/876), or, as appears more probable, in the end of that preceding, died the Cadi of Todmir, Fadl Ben Fadl Ben Amira, a man respected by all who knew him on account of his virtues and integrity, and one who for his consummate prudence and sagacity had been much consulted by the princes⁸⁹.

⁸⁸ **SCHEEN, Rolf** (1996). Vikings raids on the spanish peninsula. In: Militaria. Revista de Cultura Militar, Nº 8. Servicio de Publicaciones, UCM, Madrid, pp. 67-88.

⁸⁹ **CONDE, J.A.** (1854). History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Translated from the Spanis of Dr. J.A. Condé, by Mrs. Jonathan Foster, Volume I, p. 316.

886-888 Al-Mundhir

Al-Mundhir ibn Muhammad (c. 842 – 888) was Emir of Córdoba from 886 to 888. He was a member of the Umayyad dynasty of Al-Andalus (Moorish Iberia), the son of Muhammad bin Abd al-Rahman. Born in Córdoba. During the reign of his father he commanded military operations against the neighbouring Christian kingdoms and the Muladi rebellions. In 865 he led the partially failed campaign against King Ordoño I of Asturias, in the Duero valley. On his way back to Cordoba he defeated at Burgos Rodrigo, count of Castile, pushing the Cordoban frontier northwards in Iberia.

He also tried to conquer León, but was defeated in 878 at Valdemora by King Alfonso III of Asturias. Al-Mundhir launched an expedition against the Banu Qasi Muladi family who had allied with Alfonso III, but was also defeated in 883. The following year he was able to expel the rebel emir Ibn Warwan from Badajoz. In 886, on his father's death, he inherited the throne of Córdoba. During the two years of reign al-Mundhir continued the fight against the rebel Umar ibn Hafsun. He died in 888 at Bobastro, possibly murdered by his brother Abdullah ibn Muhammad al-Umawi, who succeeded him⁹⁰.

Algezares

A basilica temple was found during archaeological excavations. The ruins are located on the northwestern slope of the Sierra del Gallo, facing the plain of Murcia, about 500 meters east of the town of Algezares by the road leading to the neighbouring town of Garres. The basilica has been considered to be from the

⁹⁰ **ALTAMIRA, Rafael** (1999) "Il califfato occidentale". Storia del mondo medievale II. pp. 477–515.

Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)

Byzantine period and dated between the second half of the sixth and early seventh century, although there is evidence of earlier times. There seems to be a gap between mid seventh century and the ninth, because the set of Islamic materials dates between the second half of the eleventh century and the first half of the tenth⁹¹.

⁹¹ **GUTIÉRREZ LLORET, Sonia** (1996) *La Cora de Tudmír de la antigüedad tardía al mundo islámico*. Madrid, p. 349.

888-912 Abdullah ibn Muhammad

Abdullah ibn Muhammad; January 11, 844 – October 15, 912) of the Umayyad dynasty was the seventh Emir of Córdoba, reigning from 888 to 912 in the Al-Andalus. Contemporary historians accused Abdullah of orchestrating the death of his elder brother, al-Mundhir, whereby he ascended to power. This is unlikely, as ibn Muhammad showed very little interest in governing, becoming a neurotic recluse who was only interested in hunting and his faith. Once in power, however, he showed no reluctance to dispose of those he viewed as a threat, even if they were family. Two of his own brothers were executed on his orders, and he commanded one of his sons (al-Mutarraf) to kill his own brother. Even this extreme display of loyalty was not enough to save al-Mutarraf, as he too was executed for treason a few years later. Abdullah is described as an apathetic emir. His government was marked by continuous wars between Arabs, Berbers and Muladi. His power as emir was confined to the area of Córdoba, while the rest had been seized by rebel families that did not accept his authority. The most formidable threat for the emir was Umar Ibn Hafsun, who had conquered the provinces of Rayya, Bobastro, Elvira, Granada and Jaén, and had allied with the populations of Archidona Baeza, Ubeda and Priego.

In 891 Ibn Hafsun was defeated near the castle of Polei and lost several cities. After the victory, Abdullah massacred all the Christians, while the Muslims of the conquered cities were pardoned. However, by the following year Ibn Hafsun had already recovered, and conquered back all the lost territories.

In 899 Ibn Hafsun renounced Islam and became a Christian, being christened as Samuel. His motivations seem to have been opportunistic, hoping to obtain military support from Alfonso III of Leon, who had received overtures by ibn Hafsun on behalf of Ibn Marwan indifferently. His conversion proved a

major political mistake which, although helping to attract significant Mozarab support, cost him the support of most of his Mullawad followers. He also built the *Iglesia Mozarabe* (Mozarab Church)⁹² at Bobastro.

In 901, the emir signed a peace agreement with Ibn Hafsun (who had allied with the Banu Qasi family, controlling the Ebro valley, and the Kingdom of Asturias).



The Sultan
Eugene Delacroix, 1845

⁹² **ARCE SAINZ, Fernando** (2001) *Arquitectura y rebelión: construcción de iglesias durante la revuelta de 'Umar B. Hafsun*. In: *al-qantara*, Vol. 22, Nº. 1, pp. 121-145

However, the war broke out again the following year, only to be halted by the death of Abdullah at Córdoba, who was improving his positions. The son he had designated as successor was killed by one of Abdullah's brothers. The latter was in turn executed by Abdullah's father, who named as successor Abd ar-Rahman III, son of the killed son of Abdullah⁹³.

Tudmir

The land of Tudmir was much involved in the civil wars provoked by the rivalry of the Yamanis and the Mudaris of Spain in the period of the independent emirs of Cordoba. The same is happening in Spain. Around 891, many places of Muslim Spain were beginning to become quite as independent. The lords of Mentesa (Ibn Attaf), Medina Sidonia (Ibn Salim), Lorca (Ibn Waddah) and Saragossa (Al-Ancar) only obeyed the Emir when it suited them. The Berbers had reverted to a system of tribal government.

The renegades, however, maintained their position in Ocsonoba, in Beja and Mertola, and in Priego. The nobles in the province of Jaen were all in alliance with Omar ibn Hafsun. Another independent chief, Daisam ibn Ishaq was lord of almost the whole of Todmir (Murcia) and according to al-'Udri one of the

⁹³ **ALTAMIRA, Rafael** (1999). "Il califfato occidentale". *Storia del mondo medievale* II. pp. 477–515.

LACARRA Y DE MIGUEL, José María (1945). "Textos navarros del Códice de Roda". *Estudios de la Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* (in Spanish) (58-59) (Zaragoza). pp. 193–284.

LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Évariste (1953). "Du nouveau sur le royaume de Pampelune au IX^e siècle". *Bulletin Hispanique* (in French) 55 (1) (Université de Bordeaux). pp. 5–22.*

MARTÍNEZ DíEZ, Gonzalo (2005). *El Condado de Castilla (711-1038): la historia frente a la leyenda* (in Spanish). Valladolid.

Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).

followers of Ibn Hafsun. He was also a lover of poetry, and had at his disposal an army in which were five thousand horsemen. His generosity and urbanity earned him, moreover, the affection of all his subjects. He could do so since he controlled the silver mines in Todmir and had coined dirhems under his name. But the Sultan's most formidable antagonist continued to be Ibn Hafsun, who in the last two years had gained great advantages. Even worse for the Sultan, Daisam of Lorca was allied to Omar ibn Hafsun⁹⁴.



Bobastro, beginning of the revolt of Omar ibn Hafsun

Photo: Andrzej Otrębski

Roberto Marín-Guzmán let us know that «Daysam Ibn Ishâq was able to control a vast area including Murcia, Vélez Blanco and Vélez Rubio, as well as hisn Merna, and his Molina. Most

⁹⁴ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 351, 353 y 371.

of his territories were between the rivers Segura, Mula, and Guadalentín. Daysam was a strong support for the rebels in several areas surrounding his territories. He was also portrayed as a popular and beloved leader due to his courage, mercy and generosity with his people. His palace was visited by numerous poets and intellectuals who were paid generously for their services and for the poems recited in his honor⁹⁵.»

In 895, it was generally supposed that an expedition was contemplated against the Renegades of Tudmir. However, instead of marching eastward, the army was approaching Seville. Though Sulaiman had managed to escape, all the other officers and men from Seville and Sidona had been arrested by the sultan's son Mutarrif.

In the year 896 the amir 'Abd Allah organized another *sa'ifa*, that has been recorded in the chronicles as *Sa'ifa Tudmir*. The expedition had as mission to punish the rebels in this *kura*. One of the major objectives was to subdue the rebels Daysam Ibn Ishâq, Ibn Hudhayl, and other in the area. One of the reasons for attacking the *kura of Tudmir* could have been his desire to acquire the silver and control of the silver mines that the rebel Ibn Ishaq had under his dominion. The government of the amir 'Abd Allah had a need for precious metals, and in this way they could stop Ibn Ishaq from minting his own coins. The army went to Vélez as the first place in Tudmir that needed a punishment. Thereafter the Umayyad armies advanced to other fortresses in the *kura* of Tudmir. The army continued his punishment with the fortress of Mania, on the banks of the Wadi Tadrúa river (Segura). This fortress was under the control of Daysam. The Umayyad armies regained the fortress of Mania, but were unable to obtain Daysam's surrender. This leader

⁹⁵ **MARÍN GUZMÁN, Roberto** (2006). Political Turmoil in Al-Andalus in the time of the amir 'abd Allah (888-912): Study of the Revolt of Daysam Ibn Ishaq, Lord of Murcia and Lorca and the role of Umar Ibn Hafsun. In: The Muslim world, Vol. 96, Nº 1, pp. 145-174. Citation on p. 150-151.

found silver mines in his province and minted his own silver dirhams with his own name on them. This allowed him to reach an economic independence and self sustaining for his cause. Thereafter, the Umayyad armies continued his punishment with the castle of Rikut (Ricote) that was controlled by Ibn Ishâq⁹⁶.

Ricote

According to Puy Meason⁹⁷ the earliest true reference to Ricote appears in the year 896 as follows:

We find the earliest written reference to the occupation of the region in Ibn Hayyân's⁹⁸ Muqtabis III (10-11th centuries), where Ricote is mentioned in the context of the expedition sent by the emir of Cordoba in 896 AD in order to stifle a rebellion⁹⁹. A group of insurgents had sought refuge in Ricote's fortress located on a hill to the northeast of the village. Later al-Bakrî (11th century), quoting al-Râzî (10th century) alluded to the alquería of Ricote. Alquería is a word used in al-Andalus to refer to a small rural residential nucleus and its associated farmland. The alquería of Ricote was probably located on a hill to the north of the current village, where 11th - 13th-century pottery fragments have been found¹⁰⁰. The survey carried out for this thesis has identified another Andalusí residential nucleus in Cabezo del Rife, to the southeast of the modern day village, where pottery dating to the 9th-13th centuries has been identified.

⁹⁶ **MARÍN GUZMÁN, Roberto** (2006). Political Turmoil in Al-Andalus in the time of the amir 'abd Allah (888-912): Study of the Revolt of Daysum Ibn Ishaq, Lord of Murcia and Lorca and the role of Umar Ibn Hafsun. In: The Muslim world, Vol. 96, Nº 1, pp. 145-174.

⁹⁷ **PUY MAESO, Arnald** (2012) *Criterios de construcción de las huertas andalusíes*. El caso de Ricote (Murcia España), p. 272

⁹⁸ **IBN HAYYÁN**. *Kitāb al-Muqtabis fī ta'rīj al-Andalus*. I Al'Arabī (ed). Casablanca

⁹⁹ **CARMONA, Alfonso** (2005) *El Valle de Ricote en época andalusí*. En *Tercer Congreso Turístico-Cultural Valle de Ricote. Despierta tus Sentidos*. Abaran: Mancomunidad Valle de Ricote, 129-143. Cited on p. 134-35

¹⁰⁰ **MANZANO MARTINEZ, J.A.** (2002) *Arquitectura defensiva: delimitación de entornos y documentación histórica de 20 torres y castillos*. Memorias de Arqueología 10, 657-747. Cited on p. 680

Elías Terés Sábada¹⁰¹ describes the chronicle of Ibn Hayyān more extensively:

In the year 283 (= 896) an army sent by Emir 'Abd Allah camped in Balis (= Velez), located on the top of the Tudmir, and from there it went to continue attacking the castles of this region obliterating all the rebellious villages on their way, till they camped before Maniya [to be read *mulina* = Molina, as J. Vallvé thinks], which was one of the castles of the rebel Daysam ibn Ishaq, located on Wadi Tādirū. The army continued there for several days ravaging and burning everything until they attacked the hisn or castle of Rikūt; (= Ricote) where the garrison resisted, but the Emir's army snatched the first protection wall or citadel, forcing them to take refuge in the fortress. Thereafter the army started to plunder and when some of this army returned to their camp with what they had caught, the people of the castle took this opportunity to lash out against them, but the army inflicted a terrible defeat throwing them against the river. Some of their leaders were killed and others drowned, among them the two sons of 'Umar ibn Di-n Nun as-Santarī [read as-Santabarī] that one of Santaver '] and Gazi ibn Gazwān at-Talabarī.

Ricote probably had a preArab etymology. With reference to the ancient Arab texts Guichard¹⁰² and Carmona¹⁰³ speak about *Rikūt* and *Riqūt*. However, seventeen years later Prof. Carmona¹⁰⁴ talks about the name *Ruqūt*, as observed by Jorge Eiroa¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰¹ TERÉS SÁBADA, Elías (2000) *Materiales para el estudio de la Toponimia Hispanoárabe*. Nómima Fluvial. Tomo 1, p.183

¹⁰² GUICHARD, P. (1983) *Evolución sociopolítica de la región murciana durante la época musulmana*. In: *Cuadernos de Historia*, 10, Madrid, pp. 53-57

¹⁰³ CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, A. (1990) *Recorrido por la geografía histórica de la Murcia islámica*. In: *Guía islámica de la Región de Murcia*, Murcia, pp. 13-29

¹⁰⁴ CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, A. (2007) *Los personajes árabes de Ricote*. In: *Pax Christi 1505-2005. V Centenario fundación de las parroquias Valle de Ricote*, Murcia, pp. 52-62. Cited on p. 52

¹⁰⁵ EIROA Rodríguez, Jorge A. (2008) *El castillo de Ricote (Murcia): Identificación y bases para su estudio*. In: *Estudios sobre desarrollo regional*, 2008, ISBN 978-84-8371-794-3, pp. 7-24. Cited on p. 9



Prof. Alfonso Carmona

At the beginning of the 20th century Gaspar Remiro already wrote in detail about the Umayyad army and here we observe the first reference to the village of Ricote.

Campaign Todmir

We find the best description of what exactly happened in Ricote in 896 in the book of Mariano Gaspar Remiro¹⁰⁶:

¹⁰⁶ **GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Zaragoza. Reedición de la Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia, 1980. pp. 76-77

- 1. **IBN HAYYAN** (1937) *Kitab al-Muqtabas, parte III, edición M. Martínez Antuña, P. Melchor, Paris*; edición 1. al-'Arabi, Rabat, 1990; edición Dar al-Awqaf, Rabat 1990; Trad. esp. J. Guaraieb, CHE, XIII (1950) al XXXI-XXXII (1960). pp. 116-117

"The Umayyad army attacked the castles of Guadix and proceeded to the fortification of Huéneja (Wāniya), where it stayed for a few days until the mules arrived with supplies from Pechina and the diezmos and taxes of the Alpujarras (?). After several days of bad weather the army started to walk again and camped at the Ragašana castle of Tijola. It undertook to march again towards Baza on the 1st Jumada II/16th July 896. The weather got worse, while the Umayyad forces led by Hisham b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Al-Hakam and the general Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Abi 'Abda moved to Velez Rubio and Velez Blanco (Balis), where the Cora of Tudmir begins. On the first Christian day of the month of August after two days of fighting around the castle the Umayyad troops dedicated to ravage the territory of Tudmir and camped at Molina (!) - one of the fortifications (Husun) of the rebel Daysam b. Ishaq near the river Tader or Segura. The river Segura was called *Tader* in the Latin sources and in the Arabic ones it had the name of *Tādiru*, *Tandā'ir*, *nahr Tudmîr* ("river of Tudmîr"), *nahr Mursiya* ("river of Murcia") and *al-Nahr al-Abyad* ("the white river")¹⁰⁷. Daysam Ibn Ishaq was the lord of Murcia¹⁰⁸ during 888-906.

After ravaging the area for several days Sultan Ahmed marched against Ricote, whose defenders were ready to fight and managed to boldly reject the enemy's attacks at the beginning. However, there came a moment when the Sultan's army volunteers mastered the castle's first enclosure and adhered to the walls of the citadel. But these volunteers, coming and going from the castle to camp with their prey, were more attentive to plunder than to dislodging their enemies. The besieged ones, taking advantage of the favourable opportunity of such

¹⁰⁷ VALLVÉ BERMEJO, J. (1986) *La división territorial de la España Musulmana*, Madrid, p. 153

¹⁰⁸ MARIN-GUZMÁN, Roberto (2006) *Political Turmoil in Al-Andalus in the Time of the Amir abd Allah (888-912): Study of the Revolt of Daysam Ibn Ishaq, Lord of Murcia and Lorca and the Role of Umar Hafsun*. In: *The Muslim world*, Vol. 96, N° 1, pp. 145-174

proceeding, could furiously fight the other group of the army and to put them in shameful defeat. Many of them jumped into the river in escape, and this resulted in many deaths, many by armies and others by drowning. Notable among them were two sons of Omar, son of Dinnun from Santover; Gaz, son Gazuan from Talavera, and others. The Sultan's army immediately withdrew to the city of Murcia where they camped on the banks of the Segura ten days to engage in the collection of taxes of al-Jazeera and al-'Askar and other faithful districts. On Sunday the first of raġab/14 August 896 the army undertook the return passing through Ayn saytan (Source devil) and the Castle of Aledo, where they encamped at Sundown. There was no water on this road and over thirty soldiers and many pack animals died during the walk. The *caid* general Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Abi 'Abda ordered his emissaries to go to the town of Lorca Daysam to warn his intention to camp on their territory



Daysam was defeated between Aledo and Lorca and the latter town was besieged. The country was definitely pacified and restored to the central power in Cordova only during the reign of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahman III and his successor al-Hakam II.

According to Ortega López it is quite well possible that in 896 a castle of Ricote was situated where today we find the site of the Moorish Queen (Pila de la Reina Mora). This place is also known as Castle of Ojos or Castle of Ulea, high on the cliff, overlooking the current grindstone of the population of Ulea, an authentic natural stronghold¹⁰⁹.

With regards to Blanca, according to André Bazzana¹¹⁰ we know that near the future castle (12th century) there was an existing alcabar in the 10th and 11th century.

The new castle in Ricote

According to the hypothesis of Ortega López, after the defeat by the Umayyad army the Muslims of the Ricote Valley who were living in the castle near Ojós decided to build a new castle high in the mountains near a place that is today called Ricote. However, Ortega López and his defender Ríos Martínez's¹¹¹ hypothesis is not accepted by Eiroa Rodríguez, who stated:

Dimas Ortega surprisingly proposes placing the Rikut of Ibn Hayyán ub in the late Roman settlement of the "El Salto de la Novia"; he not only

¹⁰⁹ **ORTEGA LÓPEZ, Dimas** (2002) Orígenes del Valle de Ricote: la ciudad romana de Rikut. In: Actas I Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote. Abarán 8 y 9 Nov. 2002, Abarán (Murcia), 2002, p. 150

¹¹⁰ **BAZZANA, André** (2005) *El "hisn", modelo de ocupación y puesta en valor de los territorios andalusíes*. In: III Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierta tus Sentidos", Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre, pp. 167-201.

¹¹¹ **RÍOS MARTÍNEZ, Ángel** (2007) *El Castillo de Ricote*. In: 4º Congreso Internacional del Valle de Ricote: "Despierta tus Sentidos". Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Compilación de ponencias / coord. por M^a Cruz Gómez Molina, 2005, pp. 167-201. Citation on p. 183.

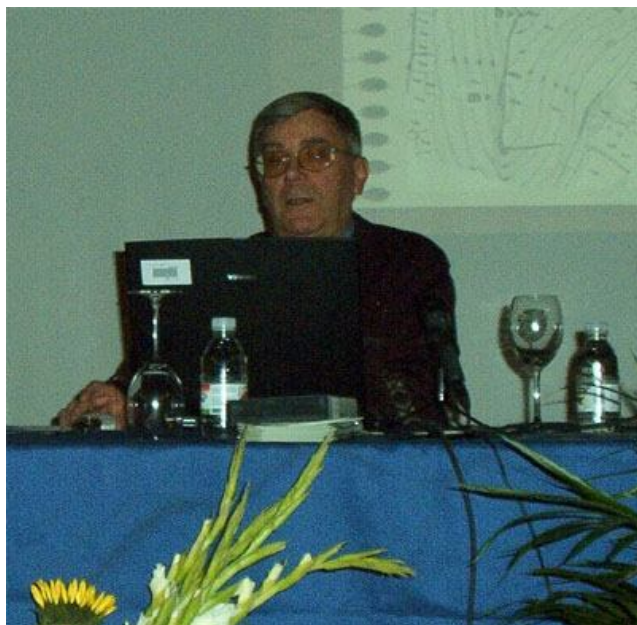
confuses this known settlement of the IV and V centuries with the Andalusian fortress located on it, the site of the “Pila de la Reina Mora” or Ulea castle, but he uses a personal interpretation of the text of the campaign of Tudmir of the IX century to conclude that "the sources described therefore ensure that Rikut was in the valley and not in the remote heights of the crags", since the orography there "prevents the location of nearby camps" even talking about "the Roman city of Rikut" (Ortega, 2002). And recently Rios has recovered Ortega's argument, considering that previous references to the XI century of Ricote refer to the place now known as "el Salto de la Novia". Only thereafter “would Ricote be at the current location, because the security offered by this situation on top of the mountain was until then one of a small fort" (Rios, 2007: 183). He states that "it is evidenced by the archaeological remains and Arab sources" without citing any specific reference¹¹².



Reminders of the Castle of Ricote

¹¹² **EIROA Rodríguez, Jorge A.** (2008) El castillo de Ricote (Murcia): Identificación y bases para su estudio. In: Estudios sobre desarrollo regional, 2008, ISBN 978-84-8371-794-3, p.p. 7-24. Cited on p. 18

Strangely enough, a study of Puy Maeso¹¹³ suggests that the Andalusi irrigated terraced cluster of Ricote was likely constructed between the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 13th centuries AD.



André Bazzana

An alcabar is a space surrounded by a fence that can be found within the castle grounds or sometimes on the outside, but near the fort. It is a fold to guard livestock or a refuge for the inhabitants.

¹¹³ **PUY, Arnald; BALBO, Andrea L.; BUBENZER, Olaf** (2016) *Radiocarbon Dating of Agrarian Terraces by Means of Buried Soils*. In: Radiocarbon, January (Pending)

Udri¹¹⁴ informs that in those years silver mines near the coast of Tudmir produced 15 kilos of metallic silver per day. This metal was used in jewelry, decoration, crockery, and also to mint money by the rebels.

After the death of Daisum Ibn Ishaq in 906 Lorca was governed for a short time by his two sons and thereafter only by one of them. Then Abd al-Rahman ibn Waddah appeared as governor until the year 924.

Ibrahim Ben Mūsā Ben Chamil¹¹⁵ was a celebrated personage in Murcia who moved from Murcia to the East, residing in Egypt, Mecca, and Baghdad, finally turning to Egypt where he died circa 912.

Oran

The city of Oran took was founded in 903 by a group of sailors and Andalusian Muslims, partially from merchants of Tudmir. Murcia as the capital of Tudmir was the new established town that from that time had for a long time closer contacts with the

¹¹⁴ **AI-UDRI** (1965) *Tarsi 'al-ajbar, de. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ahwani*, Madrid, IEEI; trad. parcial, E. Molina López, "La cora de Tudmir segun al-'Udri", Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, 4 (1972), p. 46

PROVENZAL, Levi (1953) *La description de l'Espagne d'Ah- mad Al-Razzi*. Al Andalus, 18, 51-108

MARTÍNEZ SAN PEDRO, M.D. & GARCÍA PARDO, M. (1996) *La riqueza minera en la Almería medieval*. Proceedings of I jornadas sobre Minería y Tecnología en la Edad Media Peninsular (pp. 274-281). León: Fundación Hullera Vasco-Leonesa

VALLVÉ BERMEJO, J. (1996) *La minería en Al-Andalus*. Proceedings of I jornadas sobre Minería y Tecnología en la Edad Media Peninsular (pp. 50-64). León: Fundación Hullera Vasco-Leonesa. **VALLVÉ BERMEJO, J.** (1980) *La industria en Al-Andalus*. Al- Qantara, 1, 209-241

¹¹⁵ **GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, Ángel** (1957) *Árabes murcianos ilustres*. In: Murgetana, N° 10, pp. 9-43 Citation on pp. 16-17.

emirate of Tlemcen through the Cartagena-Mazalquivir¹¹⁶ combination.

Orihuela

The son of qadi Abd Rahman (d. 841-842) by the name of Asorah Abulosna was a native of Murcia. He travelled to various cities of Spain and then went to Egypt to finalize his studies, dying at the age of 105 years (d. 907 to 908). Qadi Fadl (d. 878-879) had two sons: Amira and Abd Rahman, both native to Orihuela. Having studied law with their father, both travelled to the East to fulfill the religious precept of the pilgrimage and perfect their education. The first died in 897 to 898 and the second was surprised by death on the road while returning from the pilgrimage in 906 to 907.

Khaalid, son of Almotain, surnamed Aburazin, appeared as qadi of Todmir after Abd Rahman, son of Fadl, and before his brother. He was a native of Elvira and had exercised the same position before. Some of the jurists from Todmir moved to the East and established their residences there devoting themselves to studies and teaching. This was the case of Ybrahim Abuishac, son of Muza, who lived in Egypt, Mecca, and Baghdad and later returned to the firstly referred region, where he died in 912 to 913¹¹⁷.

In 909-910 Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Tawil reached the wastelands of *Balyâris* and conquered the fortress of Orihuela. He captured three hundred Christians, killed many, and destroyed and burned the fort. Then he advanced against the

¹¹⁶ **VILLAR, Juan B & SERRANO MARTÍNEZ, José María** (2001-2005) *Pasado presente y relaciones futuras en el actual marco comunitario europeo de la región de Murcia con la argelina Orán, Oranie y Oranesado*. In: Awraq, Vol. XXII, pp. 97-142. Citation on p. 106

¹¹⁷ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, pp. 85-86

strengths of *Galtayr* and *al-Gîrân* and destroyed them. The booty from this expedition was thirteen thousand dinars¹¹⁸.

Lorca

The Arab geographer al-Yaqûbi wrote his book *Kitāb al-buldān* around 890. His death dates to 897. *Kitāb al-buldān* is the first Arab geographical work that refers to the territory of al-Andalus. He describes al-Andalus from the narration of a past traveler from North Africa.

"Leave Qairawan towards Tunisia. There embark and travel by sea for ten days, following the coast without penetrating inland until you are in front of the peninsula of al-Andalus in a place called Tenes which is on the coast four days away from the city of Tahert. Then go towards the peninsula of al-Andalus through the sea for a day and a night until you reach the country of Tudmir - a large inhabited region in which there are two cities called Alaskar and Lorca, both with their mosques. Then go towards ... Córdoba ... (through) ... Elbira¹¹⁹ ..."

¹¹⁸ **CASTILLA BRAZALES, Juan** (1992) *La crónica de 'Arib sobre al-Andalus*. Granada, p. 105

¹¹⁹ **GOZALBES CRAVIOTO, Enrique** (1991) Algunos datos sobre el comercio entre Al-Andalus y el norte de África en la época omeya (1): Los puertos de contacto. In: *Sharq Al-Andalus: Estudios mudéjares y moriscos*, Nº. 8, pp. 25-42. Citation on p. 34

SÁNCHEZ PÉREZ, Antonio José & ALONSO DE LA CRUZ, Rosario del Carmen (2003-2004) El territorio alicantino en las fuentes geográficas árabes medievales (siglos IX-XV). In: *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, XXVII-XXVIII, pp. 103-124. Citation on p. 105

912-929 Abd ar-Rahman III

Abd-ar-Rahman III. (912-961) was the greatest and the most successful of the princes of his dynasty in Spain. He ascended the throne when he was barely twenty-two and reigned for half a century. His life was so completely identified with the government of the state that he offers less material for biography than his ancestor Abd-ar-rahman I. Yet it supplies some passages which show the real character of an oriental dynasty even at its best. Abd-ar-rahman III was the grandson of his predecessor, Abdallah, one of the weakest and worst of the Spanish Omayyads. His father, Mahommed, was murdered by a brother Motarrif by order of Abdallah. The old sultan was so far influenced by humanity and remorse that he treated his grandson kindly. Abd-ar-rahman III. came to the throne when the country was exhausted by more than a generation of tribal conflict among the Arabs, and of strife between them and the Mahommedans of native Spanish descent. Spaniards who were openly or secretly Christians had acted with the renegades. These elements, which formed the bulk of the population, were not averse from supporting a strong ruler who would protect them against the Arab aristocracy. These restless nobles were the most serious of Abd-ar-rahman's enemies. Next to them came the Fatimites of Egypt and northern Africa, who claimed the caliphate, and who aimed at extending their rule over the Mahommedan world, at least in the west. Abd-ar-rahman subdued the nobles by means of a mercenary army, which included Christians. He repelled the Fatimites, partly by supporting their enemies in Africa, and partly by claiming the caliphate for himself. His ancestors in Spain had been content with the title of sultan. The caliphate was thought only to belong to the prince who ruled over the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. But the force of this tradition had been so far weakened that Abd-ar-Rahman could proclaim himself caliph on the 16th of January 929, and the assumption of the title gave him increased prestige with his subjects, both in Spain and

Africa. His worst enemies were always his fellow Mahommedans. After he was defeated by the Christians at Alhandega in 939 through the treason of the Arab nobles in his army he never again took the field. He is accused of having sunk in his later years into the self-indulgent habits of the harem. When the undoubted prosperity of his dominions is quoted as an example of successful Mahommedan rule, it is well to remember that he administered well not by means of but in spite of Mahommedans.



An embassy to Rahman III
Painting of Dionisio Baixeras i Verdaguer, 1885

The high praise given to his administration may even excite some doubts as to its real excellence. We are told that a third of his revenue sufficed for the ordinary expenses of government, a third was hoarded and a third spent on buildings. A very large proportion of the surplus must have been wasted on the palace-town of Zahra, built three miles to the north of Cordova, and

named after a favourite concubine. Ten thousand workmen are said to have been employed for twenty-five years on this wonder, of which no trace now remains.



The great monument of early Arabic architecture in Spain, the mosque of Cordova, was built by his predecessors, not by him. It is said that his harem included six thousand women. Abd-ar-Rahman was tolerant, but it is highly probable that he was very indifferent in religion, and it is certain that he was a thorough despot. One of the most authentic sayings attributed to him is his criticism of Otto I. of Germany, recorded by Otto's ambassador, Johann, abbot of Gorze, who has left in his *Vita* an incomplete account of his embassy (in Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Scriptores*, iv. 355-377). He blamed the king of Germany for trusting his nobles, which he said could only increase their pride and leaning to rebellion. His confession that he had known only twenty happy days in his long reign is perhaps a moral tale, to

be classed with the “*omnia fui, et ni expedit*” of Septimius Severus¹²⁰.

Orihuela

Ishâq b. Muhammad al-Qurasî started campaigning against the *Cora of Tudmir*. He conquered the fortress of Orihuela and instated order among the population of this *Cora*¹²¹.

Todmir

In 915, a terrible famine, caused by a long drought, rendered a campaign impossible. The populace of Cordova died by thousands, and there were scarcely men left to bury the dead. The Sultan and his Ministers did all they could to alleviate the distress, but they found it difficult to check the insurgents, who, pressed by hunger, issued forth from the mountains to snatch the scanty food remaining in the plains. Next year Orihuela and Niebla were subdued, and the Sultan had so thoroughly established his authority that he was able to order raids to be made against the Christians in the North, when death delivered him from the most formidable enemy: in the year 917, Ibn Hafsun breathed his last. This event caused great rejoicing at Cordova, where confidence was felt that the insurrection would now soon be extinguished.

‘Abd Rabbihi was the court poet and freedman of the Umayyads who wrote the encyclopaedia of Arabic literature entitled *Al-Iqd al-Farid*, “the unique necklace”, which was dubbed “the string of garlic” by his enemies. He lived into the reign of ‘Abd al-Rahman III¹²².

¹²⁰ **ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA** (1911), Volume I, pp. 31-32.

¹²¹ **CASTILLA BRAZALES, Juan** (1992) *La crónica de ‘Arib sobre al-Andalus*. Granada, p. 143

¹²² **MONROE, James T.** (1971). The historical Arjuza of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, a tenth century Hispano-Arabic Epic Poem. In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 91, N° 1. Jan.-Mar., pp. 67-95. Citations on pp. 83 and 89.

The Year 304 (916)

83. After it came the campaign of the fourth year, and what good deed did our Lord not perform.

84. During its course, by cheering up the grieving sovereign both of whose hands strove in God's path!

85. This was so because he sent out two commanders who manifested both divine Victory and support;

86. The one towards the frontier and its adjacent areas, against The polytheist enemy or his supporters,

87. And the other to the fragrant gardens of Murcia, while the Part that went on travelled as far as Valencia.

The main theme of the *arjuza* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi is the restoration of divine order in al-Andalus through the heroic efforts of the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III, who is courageous in battle, loyal to God and generous in pardoning his enemies. The *arjuza* of 'Abd Rabbihi refers certain military activities in Todmir:

The Year 312 (924)

271. He campaigned with the sword of victory in his right hand and the rising star of good fortune on his forehead,

272. While the officer in charge of the army and the government was the eminent Mūsā, the Amīr's chamberlain.

273. He destroyed the fortresses of Todmir and made the wild animals descend from the rocky peaks.

274. So that the people unanimously agreed [to obey] him and the leaders of the rebellion acknowledged him as chief,

275.Until, when he had taken all of their fortresses and inscribed the truth elegantly on their texts,

276.There set forth, travelling in the shadow of the army, under the banner of the great lion,

277.The men of Todmir and their kinfolk, of every tie that could trace back its lineage to them.

While Abderahman was busied with his various affairs in Cordova, he received letters from his uncle Almudafar, communicating many advantages gained over the rebels, who, being driven from all parts, had been compelled to shut themselves up so closely amidst the wilds, that, not daring to appear in the peopled districts, the means of life had failed them, and it was a pity to see them thus perishing amidst the asperities of those deserts. The prince therefore judged it better to make an end of those evils by reducing the remnant still holding out at one blow, thus assuring to the towns that repose and security of which they stood so much in need. He was consequently preparing to assemble the whole force of the province of Tadmir, and pursue the rebels to their destruction without any considerations of indulgence or injudicious lamenting for the fate which they had themselves provoked.

The king was convinced that the reasonings advanced by his uncle were of force, and he wrote to his Alcades in the Comarcas of Todmir and Valencia to that effect, commanding them to hold their levies, both of cavalry and foot-soldiers, ready for the ensuing spring, when they were to pass through the entire province, subjecting every town still remaining attached to the party of the rebel Calib Hafsun Ben Arius. Abderahman himself also left Cordova, the time being come, and repairing to the land of Todmir, made his entry into the cities of Murcia, Auriola, Lorca, and Kenteda, in all of which he

was received with acclamations by the people, while the principal inhabitants of each place came forth from their towns, requesting permission to join themselves to the forces already conducted by the king¹²³.

Some years later, Jaffar, the son of Ibn Hafsun is assassinated by some of his father's men. Jaffar is promptly replaced by his brother Sulayman who dies in battle. He is succeeded by his brother Hafs who is defeated later on in 928 when the amir's forces enter Bobastro¹²⁴.

Ibn Mas'ud reflected in its al-Aniq with respect to the year 925 some events that were collected by ibn Hayyan in his *Muqtabis*¹²⁵. It deals with the case of the Arabic 'Abd al-Rahman b. Waddah, one of the rebels who were still rebellious in the Tudmir and Valencia area in the year 312/924, the date at which 'Abd al-Rahman III went to Christian lands with regards to the campaign of Pamplona, country of God's enemies, the infidels.

He came from the Cora of Tudmir with his vizier 'Sa'id b. al-Mundhir to accompany him in the campaign and sent Muhammad b. Ishaq there as his replacement.

'Abd al-Rahman b. Waddah Lorca had rebelled, but not too long after the siege. He surrendered under *aman* and was sent with his family to Cordoba.

¹²³ CONDE, J.A. (1854). History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Translated from the Spanis of Dr. J.A. Condé, by Mrs. Jonathan Foster, Volume I, pp. 373-374

¹²⁴ ABED-RABBO, Jamal (2011). Conversion and Propaganda in the *Muqtabis* of Ibn Hayyan. A senior thesis submitted to the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of Michigan in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

¹²⁵ HERRERO SOTO, Omayra (2012) *El perdón del gobernante (al-Andalus, ss II/VIII-V/XI). Una aproximación a los valores político-religiosos de una sociedad islámica pre-moderna*. Tesis doctoral. Universidad de Salamanca, pp. 151-152

People commented that this man was very corpulent and had a very large and thick beard, so when he came to Cordoba, accompanied by a big dog, the people were so impressed that poets composed satirical verses about him, such as:

“To Córdoba Ibn Waddah came,
ahead with the dog, but the dog does not matter;
dragging on the ground came the beard:
sometimes he looked, sometimes he hid;
his daily product suffices
seventy faces unabated;
his woven wool and hair,
in all its abundance could clothe the poor.”

Once having submitted to the emirs of Murcia, Orihuela, Lorca, and other towns in the region of Todmir, Abd ar Rahman III could get troops from them. We know that in 925 Abd ar Rahman arranged the output of Murcia of Said, son of Almondir, the vizier. This way Said could assist that year in the campaign launched against Monteleón and other castles in the Heart of Jaén who obeyed the rebel leader Abdullah son of Said, son of Hudail. Said had to admit the authority of the caliph, and was deprived of his castles. Thereafter Said went with his people of Murcia to help Abd ar Rahman III against rebels who still remained strong in some castles in the Heart of Elvira (Granada). However, the insurrection appeared again in the land of Murcia. This time the kaid Ahmed, son of Alyas, had to stop there when his army was underway. The army was intended to campaign against Christians in Aragon and Catalonia in 941 to 942. The kaid Ahmed managed to pacify Murcia completely, taking some hostages¹²⁶.

Callosa

In 928, the sultan concentrated his arms against rebels in other provinces. That time Mohamed, child of Abderrahman named the sheik Aslami shared with Daisam the lordship of Tudmir.

¹²⁶ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, pp. 81-82

He was a rebel and rose in Callosa until the end of the emirate of Abdala. However, shortly thereafter he once again rendered obedience to the emir, who rewarded him leaving entrusted the government of that district. Once dead Abdala, the Sheikh broke with Abderrahman III fortifying him in Alicante that was the most formidable of all the castles. Different than Daisam This Arab, who was a free-booter and scoundrel of the very worst kind, had always professed zeal for religion. Growing old, he had abdicated in favour of his son 'Ab-der-Rahman, wishing –so he said- to devote his remaining days to his own salvation. He attended, indeed, with the utmost regularity all sermons and public prayers, but this show of piety did not prevent him from occasionally marauding in his neighbours' lands, and when his son was killed in a fight with the royalists, he once more assumed power. When Abderrahman III entered in Tudmir and Valencia he invited the Sheikh to render him obedience, pero the Sheikh did not wish him to obey. So Abderrahman despatched an expedition against the sheik Aslami, lord of Alicante and Callosa, in the province of Tudmir. The sheikh did not, however, long enjoy it; the general Ahmad ibn Ishaq al-Ourasî captured Alicante and his fortresses one after another, and Aslami compelled to surrender, was conveyed to Cordova with all his family¹²⁷. The rebel sheik Aslami died later on in Cordova at the age of 100 years in 940 or 1941.

Lorca

After Daisam there is another Lord of Lorca, Aberderraman Abenuadah and his authority was extended to as much territory as Daisam. This Abenuadah arose independently in Lorca in the latest years of the emirate of Abdallah (888-912).

¹²⁷ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 392 and 396.

The biographer Abenalfaradi relates to Abenuadah who had killed the excellent traditionalist originally from Lorca, Sami, son of Hani during his rebellion in 921-922. Once submitted to Abenuadah, Abd ar-Rahman III transferred him to Cordoba, where he granted him favours and protection and gave him some important posts. In this situation death surprised Abenuadah in this capital around 934. As a famous traditionalist and natural philosopher of Lorca one finds Khalaf Khalaf, son of Hixem, who died in 916 to 917¹²⁸.

Orihuela

Carmen Barceló Torres informed in her study of Almodóvar (al-Mudawwar), ancient name for the present name Guardamar, that Orihuela was the capital of Tudmir till 916-917¹²⁹. However, the hypothesis of Antonio García Menarquez is different, because he feels that the place of Almodóvar was situated nearer Rojales than Guardamar and had nothing to do with Guardamar¹³⁰.

¹²⁸ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, pp. 79-86

GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, Ángel (1957) *Árabes murcianos ilustres*. In: Murgetana, Nº 10, pp. 9-43 Citation on p. 17

¹²⁹ **IBN HAYYAN** (1979) Muqtabas V, edition P. Chalmeta et al, Madrid, p. 84. Cited by **BARCELÓ TORRES, Carmen** (1985) *Almodóvar, una población de la cora de Tudmir sepultada en las dunas de Guardamar del Segura*. In: Saitaba, Nº. 35, pp. 59-71. Citation on p. 65

¹³⁰ **GARCÍA MENARQUEZ, Antonio** (1989) *Sobre la localización del topónimo Almodóvar en la desembocadura del Segura*. In: Sharq al-Andalus, Nº. 6, pp. 149-157

929-1031
CALIPHATE OF CORDOBA

929-961 Abd ar-Rahman III (Caliphate of Cordoba)

See previous description of ABD-AR-RAHMAN III. (912-961) during the Independent Emirate.

Tudmir

The majority of the Christian inhabitants of Orihuela (Auraiola) and al-Andalus became Muslims¹³¹. Ofcourse the process took many years, but was speed up in the ninth and tenth centuries. These Arabized Christians were called *mozárabes*. They knew more of the Arabic language, literature and culture than the Latin and Christian literature. Alvaro, a Christian author complained about that in his *Indicus Luminosus*¹³²:

Our Christian young men, with their elegant airs and fluent speech, are showy in their dress and carriage, and are famed for the learning of the gentiles; intoxicated with Arab eloquence they greedily handle, eagerly devour and zealously discuss the books of the Chaldeans (i.e. Muhammadans), and make them known by praising them with every flourish of rhetoric, knowing nothing of the beauty of the Church's literature, and looking down with contempt on the streams of the Church that flow forth from Paradise; alas! the Christians are so ignorant of their own law, the Latins pay so little attention to their own language, that in the whole Christian flock there is hardly one man in a thousand who can write a letter to inquire after a friend's health intelligibly, while you may find a countless rabble of all kinds of them who can learnedly roll out the grandiloquent periods of the Chaldean tongue. They can even make poems, every line ending with the same letter, which display high flights of beauty and more skill in handling metre than the gentiles themselves possess.

¹³¹ **GARCÍA IGLESIAS, L.** (1978). Los judíos en la España antigua, Madrid, p. 175.

¹³² **MARÍN-GUZMAN, Roberto** (1991). Ethnic groups and social clases in Muslim Spain. In: Islamic Studies, 30:1-2, pp. 37-66. Citation on page 48.

In the past, Norman raiders had plundered the Peninsular coastal towns. For that reason ‘Abd al-Rahman II had fortified the coastal towns and established a coast guard. The navy became also very strong. In order to guard Ceuta and Gibraltar, ‘Abd al-Rahman III posted a fleet manned by mariners and soldiers under the command of two Qa’ids, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ilyas and Yunus b. Sa’id, on the African coasts in 931¹³³.

The Kuras’ Governors of the Murcian Mediterranean coast between 929 and 938 (first time of the Caliphate according to the Muqtabis of Ibn Hayyan)¹³⁴ were:

Hegira	Gregorian	Name
317	929	Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ilyas
318	930	Unknown
319	931	Unknown
320	932	Hasan ben Isa b. abi Abda Husayn ben Isa b. abi Abda
321	933	Dilhat b. Muhammad y Sa’id b. Abd al-Rawf
322	934	Dilhat b. Muhammad y Sa’id b. Abd al-Rawf
323	935	Dilhat b. Muhammad y Sa’id b. Abd al-Rawf
324	936	Dilhat b. Muhammad y Sa’id b. Abd al-Rawf
325	937	Dilhat b. Muhammad y Sa’id b. Abd al-Rawf
326	938	Sulayman b. Abd al Malik b. al-Asi

Consequently, there existed a category of senior and military officials and at the service of the Caliphate, which usually belongs to families of Umayyad clients, already known for the emirate and to major lineages linked to the dynasty by kinship of clan type or tribal type.

Professor Emilio Martínez discusses in his book the foundation inscription of the mosque (333/944) of La Fonteta, Guardamar

¹³³ Ibn ‘Idhari, al Bayan, II, pp. 220-340. Cited by **IMAMUDDIN, S.M.** (1965). Muslim Spain: 711-1492 A.D.: a Sociological Study, Leiden, p. 70.

¹³⁴ **GUICHARD, Pierre** (1980). Murcia Musulmana (siglos IX al XIII). In: Historia de la Región Murciana, Volume III, pp. 154-155.

(Alicante)¹³⁵. At that time the current province of Alicante belonged to the territory of Todmir.

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Razi

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Razi, known as the al-Tariji (The Chronicler) lived between 284-343 A.H. (888-955 A.D.). Al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). He was an Andalusí scholar who was born in Cordoba, and son of the trader Muhammad ibn Muza al Razi of Persian origin. Being disciple of Qasim ibn Asbag and Ahmd ibn Jalid, he became member of the court of the Umayyads of Cordoba. His most important work was the Arabic royal chronicle *Akhbar muluk al-Andalus*¹³⁶ (History of the Kings of al-Andalus). It combined first-hand information, access to the records of the Umayyad chancery, and courtly praise for his patrons. His son Isa ibn Ahmad al-Razi continued after 977 his work under caliph al-Hakam II.

Ahmad al Rāzī was the author of the emergence of Andalusian geography. His description of Spain contains a geographical part. Almost all Hispano-Arabic geographers follow the scheme outlined by the Cordovan writer in their descriptions. His work has come to us as the *Chronicle of Rasis, the Moor* - a translation commissioned by King Don Dionis of Portugal in 1300. The French Arabist Levi Provençal made a reconstruction of the original text, which is reproduced below.

¹³⁵ **MARTÍNEZ ENAMORADO, Emilio** (2009) *Inscripciones árabes de la Region de Murcia*, p. 211

¹³⁶ **AI-RAZI, Ahmad** (1975). *Ajbar muluk al-Andalus. Crónica del moro Rasis. Descripción geográfica de al-Andalus*. Madrid, pp. 34-36. Cited by: **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1996). *Murcia en los geógrafos árabes*. Comunidad Autónoma Universidad de Murcia, proyecto (PSH95/92). See: <http://asociacionsierradesegura.blogspot.com.es/2013/01/anales-ii-quince-textos-arabes.html>

“The district of Jaén is adjacent to the Tudmir, which lies east of Jaen and west of Córdoba. It is a very popular area with very good trees and all its land is irrigated by the river, just like the Nile in Egypt. Its soil has favourable natural properties and there are numerous mines where a large amount of silver is mined. Tudmir has the benefits of both land and sea; it has good fields, well defended towns and castles such as the cities of Lorca, Murcia, and Orihuela, which is a city with long history where people have lived for a long time. Another town is Alicante. It is located in the Sierra de Benicadell (Banu l-Qatil), from which other mountains rise and several great cities found in which very good silk fabrics are manufactured. Its inhabitants were bad people with bad manners, but very skilled in their work. One city is Cartagena, which the Muslims called al-Qayrawan (Alquironne). There is also a very good and very old port called Denia¹³⁷.”

Epigraphies in the region of Murcia

The Islamic civilization made a significant contribution to the science of historiography thanks to its rich legacy of historical texts. This is not limited to their books. The extraordinary number of epigraphs played an important role in transmitting the Islamic culture. The epigraphic inscriptions can be found on buildings, textiles, ceramics, ornaments, arms, coins, and metal or glass objects. Discussing all the findings of epigraphic inscription in the region of Murcia would fill many pages and is outside the scope of this book. However, it is important that we know the main works written on this matter in order to be able to study the epigraphies of Murcia in detail in case of interest.

¹³⁷ SÁNCHEZ PÉREZ, Antonio José & ALONSO DE LA CRUZ, Rosario del Carmen (2003-2004) El territorio alicantino en las fuentes geográficas árabes medievales (siglos IX-XV). In: *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* XXVII-XXVIII, pp. 103-124. Citation on p. 106

Coming back to the book of Professor Emilio Martínez, most inscriptions were found in the Santa Clara la Real Palace (Al-Qasr al-Sagir), the castle of Monteagudo, and the recently discovered Muslim town of Siyasa (Cieza).

Although Professor Martinez Enamorado emphasizes¹³⁸ the absence of archaeological material in the castle of Monteagudo, these materials are in the National Archaeological Museum and the Regional Archaeological Museum of Murcia. Some of these materials have been published by Torres Balbas¹³⁹; Levi-Provençal¹⁴⁰; Manzano Martínez and Bernal Pascual¹⁴¹; Navarro Palazón¹⁴², and by Navarro and Jiménez¹⁴³. On the other hand inscriptions on tombstones as those dated 577/1181 were published by Labarta y Barcelo¹⁴⁴.

¹³⁸ **MARTÍNEZ ENAMORADO, Emilio** (2009) *Inscripciones árabes de la Region de Murcia*, p. 231

¹³⁹ **TORRES BALBAS, L.** (1934) *Monteagudo y El Castillejo en la vega de Murcia*. In: Al-Andalus, II, pp. 366-372

TORRES BALBAS, L. (1934) *Paseos arqueológicos por la España musulmana*. In: Boletín del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de Murcia, XI-XII, pp. 1-6

¹⁴⁰ **LEVI-PROVENÇAL, E.** (1931) *Inscriptions arabes d’Espagne*, Leiden-Paris

¹⁴¹ **MANZANO MARTÍNEZ, J. & BERNAL PASCUAL, F.** (1992) *Un palacio fortificado musulmán en la huerta de Murcia: el castillo de Larache. Estado actual de la investigación*. In: Verdolay, Revista del Museo de Murcia, 4, pp. 153-166

¹⁴² **NAVARRO PALAZON, J.** (1993) *Sharq al-Andalus. Resistencia frente a los Almohades. (on the occasion of the Exhibition, 22th December 1993 – 31st January 1994)* Murcia

¹⁴³ **NAVARRO PALAZON, J. & JIMÉNEZ CASTILLO, P.** (1995) *El Castillejo de Monteagudo: Qasr ibn Sa’d*. In: J. Navarro Palazón (ed.): Casas y Palacios de al-Andalus siglos XII y XIII. Barcelona, pp. 63-104

¹⁴⁴ **LABARTA, A. & BARCELO, C.** (1992) *Miscelánea epigráfica*. In: Al-Qantara, XIII, pp. 537-559

The Arabic inscriptions found in Siyasa were studied and published by Navarro Palazón¹⁴⁵. The Monastery of Santa Clara (al-Qasr al-Sagir) was also studied by Navarro Palazón¹⁴⁶.



Castle of Monteagudo (1882)

¹⁴⁵ **NAVARRO PALAZON, J. & JIMÉNEZ CASTILLO, P.** (1995) *La decoración almohade en la arquitectura doméstica: la casa No. 10 de Siyasa*. J. Navarro Palazón (ed.). In: Casas y Palacios de al-Andalus siglos XII y XIII. Barcelona, pp. 117-138

¹⁴⁶ **NAVARRO PALAZON, J.** (1995) *Un palacio protonazari en la Murcia del siglo XIII: al-Qasr al-Sagir*. J. Navarro Palazón (ed.). In: Casas y Palacios de al-Andalus siglo XII y XIII. Barcelona, pp. 177-206

Lorca

As a famous traditionalist and natural philosopher of Lorca we find Moliamed, son of Chonaidin, sharp genius insightful of the interpretation of the meaning of the phrases, who died in 933 to 934, and also Hafs, son of Mohammed, son of Hafs, disciple of Abulósna, son of the region's qadi Abd Rahman, son of Fadl, and died in the year 936 to 937¹⁴⁷.



Castle of Lorca. Photo of José Lorca

Espinardo

Historically speaking, the beginning of the configuration the Andalusian hydraulic system in Murcia can be stipulated (after the foundation of the Madinat Mursiya ordered by 'Abd Al-Rahman II (822-852) in the year 825) between the end of the

¹⁴⁷ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, pp. 79-86

GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, Ángel (1957) *Árabes murcianos ilustres*. In: Murgetana, No. 10, pp. 9-43 Citation on p. 17

9th century and the period of political and military stability in the 10th century. Thus during the reigns of 'Abd al-Rahman III (929-961) or Al-Hakam II (961-976), although some authors reject that this took place before the 11th century¹⁴⁸, the Arab geographer al-'Udri (11th century) mentions its existence for the first time. In his account Tarsi 'al-Akhbar (c. 1075) Al-'Udri reveals the existence of a single ditch: "The beginning of the canal (saqiya) starting from the river that is in Qantarāt Askāba (currently Alcantarilla) and reaching the properties of the inhabitants of the city (Madina) of Mursiya up to the territorial limit of the farmstead Taws, which is one of the farmhouses of the city (Madina) Orihuela (Uryūla)¹⁴⁹. On the other hand various studies of Carmona and Pocklington should also be taken into account¹⁵⁰.

The Caliphal Rābit of the Dunes of Guardamar del Segura is the only Islamic monastic complex of the Andalusian Umayyad period (10-11th century) preserved almost in its entirety. This fact was possible because after being abandoned in the middle of the eleventh century, as a result of the civil war suffered by the Caliphate the whole rābit was buried and saved from attacks. So it was hidden under the sand for almost nine centuries until in 1897 during the reforestation work people found a headstone inscription in Arabic. The engineer Francisco

¹⁴⁸ **ROBLES FERNÁNDEZ, A.** (2006) *Ingenios hidráulicos en la Murcia árabe*. Ayto. de Murcia, p. 9

¹⁴⁹ **GARCÍA BLÁNQUEZ, Luis A.** (2015) *Las asceñas de acequia (islámicas) del sistema hidráulico andalusí de Murcia (Senda de Granada). Antecedentes tecnológicos y propuesta funcional*. In: *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* 22, pp. 23-61. Citation on pp. 55-56

¹⁵⁰ **CARMONA, A. & POCKLINGTON, Robert** (2008) *Agua e irrigación de la Murcia árabe, Murcia*

POCKLINGTON, Robert (1985) *Acequias árabes y pre-árabes en Murcia y Lorca: Aportación toponímica a la historia del regadío*, X Col.loqui General de la Societat d'Onomàstica, Valencia, pp. 462-473

POCKLINGTON, Robert (1990) *Estudios toponímicos en torno a los orígenes de Murcia*. Biblioteca Murciana de Bolsillo, Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia

Botella who was responsible for repopulation of the pine forest ordered to translate it. The text was as follows:

"In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful, there is no God, but Allah: Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, this mosque was finished in the month of Almoharren in the year 333 A.H. (944 AD).... The building of it was ordered by Ahmed, the son of Bohul [Ahmad b. Habib b. Bahlûl], the son of the daughter of Alwatsecbilā, he who seeks reward from Allah. He did so with the help (under the direction at the cost) of Mohammed, the son of Abusalema,work of Aben Borracha, the builder¹⁵¹."



The first Sufi institution in Rabit in Guardamar del Segura

Photo: <http://www.guardamarturisme.com>

¹⁵¹ In the headstone two names appeared: the responsible person of the construction: Muhammad b. Abi Salama and the architect of the building inscription: Ibn Muhammad b. al.'Â(rif) al-Banna. See **BARCELÓ TORRES, Carmen** (1985). Almodóvar, una población de la cora de Tudmir sepultada en las dunas de Guardamar del Segura. In: Saitaba, N°. 35, pp. 59-71. Citation on p. 67.

It is quite possible that after the year 944 there arose an extensive network of ribats from the coast to the interior towns and villages¹⁵²:

Established in 944 according to the Arabic inscription on its foundation stone the ribat at Guardamar comprised a communal mosque, a large reception area, lodging rooms for pilgrims, and thirteen cells for the resident hermits. In a pointer to the religious exercises that were practiced there each of the cells contained its own prayer niche while Arabic have been preserved from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries in which pilgrims ask for prayers to be said on their behalf. There is considerable debate over the extent to which such ribats spread across Islamic Spain and the regions of North and Saharan Africa to which Spain was connected. However, Arabic sources from Muslim Spain do point to the existence of an extensive network by the eleventh century ranging from Denia and Almeria on the eastern coast to Toledo and Badajoz inland and to Silves on the western fringes of the Iberian Peninsula.

Orihuela

The first unquestionable archaeological evidence of the existence of an Islamic cemetery in the city of Orihuela appeared in 1999¹⁵³. The cemetery was located intramurally within the medieval fence of the city near the old acequia of Almoradi, that makes a ditch of the wall and the Moorish mosque, today a cathedral, and in which sixty graves appeared on several levels. Three gravestones bore the dates 943, 946, and 994.

¹⁵² GREEN, Nile (2012) *Sufism: A Global History*. Oxford, p. 57.

¹⁵³ MARTÍNEZ NÚÑEZ, María A. (2001) *Estelas funerarias de época califal aparecidas en Orihuela (Alicante)*. In: *Al-Qantara*, Vol. XXII, pp. 45-76

Cehegín

It seems beyond doubt that the city of Cehegin had its origins in the military settlement of the North African tribal group Sanhaja in the tenth century, which gave the new establishment its name: al-Sinhayiyin, Cehegín¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵⁴ **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1982) *Documentos para la historia medieval de Cehegín*. Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, p. 10

961-976 Al-Hakam II

Hakam II. al-Mustansir (961-976), Abdurrahman's son, ascended the throne in mature years, and continued his father's policy. A lover of books, he gave protection to writers and thinkers who were not strictly orthodox. From his Christian neighbours he had nothing to fear. The anarchy which broke out in the north-west, the kingdom now called Leon, on the death of Ramiro II. -whose sons fought among themselves- and the endless conflicts between Leon and Castile, rendered the only formidable Christian kingdom powerless. Even on Hakam's death the power of the caliphate was exercised for some thirty years with great vigour. In his old age, one of his wives Sobh (the Daybreak), a Basque, bore him the first son born in his harem. He left the Crown¹⁵⁵ to his son Hisham II. (976-1008).

Hakam II, the successor of Abd-ar-Rahman III., loved the sciences. He founded the University of Cordova, and collected a library of great magnitude. The revival of learning in Europe is chiefly attributed to the writings of Arabian doctors and philosophers, and to the schools which they founded in several parts of Spain and Italy¹⁵⁶.

To secure the throne to his son, the Khalif considered that the most effectual means would be to cause allegiance to him to be sworn as soon as possible. For this purpose he convoked a solemn session of the notables of the realm. On the day appointed he announced his intentions to the assembly, and invited all the members to sign an instrument declaring Hisham heir to the crown. None dared to withhold his signature, and the Khalif further ordered Ibn Abi 'Amir, and Maisur, the Secretary of State (one of Aurora's freedmen), to cause a number of copies of the document to be made and distributed throughout the Spanish and African provinces, with an invitation not only to the notables but to the people at large to append their signatures thereto. This order was immediately complied with,

¹⁵⁵ **ENCICLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA** (1911), Vol. 25, pp. 542-543.

¹⁵⁶ **ARBUTHNOT, F.F.** (1890). *Arabic Authors*, London, p. 9.

and since awe of the Khalif precluded disobedience, signatures were everywhere forthcoming. Henceforth Hisham's name was inserted in the public prayers, and Hakam died (October 1, 976), in the firm conviction that his son would succeed him, and that if need be, Mushafy, with Ibn Abi 'Amir whom he had appointed Chamberlain, would know how to make the Andalusians keep the oath which they had taken¹⁵⁷.

According to al-'Udri there was a miraculous olive tree at a church close to the castle of Mirabayt (Miravete). On the eve of May 1 the olive tree bloomed and bore olives. The people of the region pruned the olive tree due to the inconvenience caused by the huge influx of people, but later the root rebounded and continued repeating the miracle. The author notes that Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub al-Isra'ili said that the Pope of Rome sent an emissary to the Caliph of Cordoba in 961 notifying that he knew that in that holy land there was a church with a flourishing olive tree that bore fruit on Christmas night and that a martyr was buried there whose relics he wanted. al-Zuhri, geographer of the twelfth century, clarifies the situation of the miraculous olive tree and facilitates locating Miravete. He visited the Ansara day or feast of St. John when people were gathering around him to see the miracle. The olives were like the other olives of the earth that day, but as the day advanced they became green, at noon they began to whiten, and in the afternoon they became reddish. The pilgrims then rushed to catch them before they fully matured. The olive tree was close to Hisn Sakru, near the birth of the Guadiana Menor (Wadi Yana) that flowed down to Hisn Qastal (Castril)¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁷ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 467-468.

¹⁵⁸ **VALLVE BEREJO, J.** (1972) *La división territorial en la España Musulmana (II). La cora de Turmir (Murcia)*. In: *Al-Andalus. Revista de las Escuelas de estudios árabes de Madrid y Granada*, Volumen XXXVII, pp. 152-153



Hakam II

Photo: Justo José Moreno Mérida

According to Juan Carlos Torres Jiménez the church of the miraculous olive tree has to be found in the area of Torcas de Cueva Humosa, close to the Fuente del Borbotón and the Calar de las Palomas, within the actual limits of the province of Jaen, although in the 10-11th centuries the place had belonged to the

district of Baza¹⁵⁹. On the other hand we have to take into account the observations of Vallvé who believed that Castril belonged to the territory of Qarabaka (Caravaca)¹⁶⁰.

This wonder was attributed to the beneficial presence of an uncorrupted corpse of a Christian saint who was buried in a nearby cave. Next to the cave and the miraculous olive tree was an inexhaustible source of water and also a rural church. Abu Hamid al-Andalus (XII century) specifies that on a specific day the olive tree began to bloom when the spring water was suddenly overflowing with great strength, and he added: "... at the same time the olives sprout, were fattening, and became black within the same day. The pilgrims pick those olives and springwater, each one the best he can, and keep one and the other one for medicine, and so they are achieving great benefits¹⁶¹ ... "

Tudmir

Professor Emilio Martínez Enamorado discusses in his book the tombstone of a certain Umar ibn al-Idris (361/972) in Yecla, Ahmad Ibn Yanahi (457/1065) in Murcia, and many other inscriptions¹⁶².

¹⁵⁹ **TORRES JIMÉNEZ, Juan Carlos** (2005) *La iglesia mozárabe en tierras de Jaen (712-1157)*. In: Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, No. 192, pp. 9-38. Citation on p. 30

¹⁶⁰ **VALLVE BEREJO, J.** (1972) *La división territorial en la España Musulmana (II). La cora de Turmir (Murcia)*. In: Al-Andalus. Revista de las Escuelas de estudios árabes de Madrid y Granada, Volumen XXXVII, pp. 152-155

¹⁶¹ **SIMONET, Francisco Javier** (1897) *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Madrid, p. 805. Cited by **TORRES JIMÉNEZ, Juan Carlos** (2005) *La iglesia mozárabe en tierras de Jaen (712-1157)*. In: Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, N° 192, pp. 9-38. Citation on p. 30

¹⁶² **MARTÍNEZ ENAMORADO, Emilio** (2009) *Inscripciones árabes de la Región de Murcia*, p. 349

Cities of Mohammedan Spain¹⁶³ (10th century)

City	Area in hectares	Estimate of population (thousands)
1 Córdoba		90
2 Seville	225	52
3 Almeria	118	31
4 Cartagena	110	29
5 Toledo	106	28
6 Jerez de la Frontera	96	24
7 Mallorca – Palma	90	23
8 Badajoz	81	21
9 Granada	75	20
10 Murcia	65	17
11 Zaragossa	47	12
12 Valencia	44	11
13 Malaga	37	10

Lorca

As a famous traditionalist and natural philosopher of Lorca one finds Malic, son of Turail, nicknamed Abulcasim, who died in Orihuela at 80 years of age in 965 to 966. As a famous traditionalist and natural philosopher of Lorca one finds a son of Khalaf (d. 917) called Ahmed and with the surname Abulabas, who was instructed by his father-in-law and tradition and died in 967 to 968 at the age of 82; Abdullah, son of Aswad, who died in 973 to 974; Mohammed son of Batal, son of Uahab the Temimi, who made two trips to the East in 939 and 957 during which he listened to many famous doctors and back in Spain he taught tradition in Córdoba and died in Lorca in 976 to 977¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶³ **RUSSELL, J.C.** (1958). Late Ancient and Medieval Population. In: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 48, N° 3, pp. 1-152. Citation on p. 92

¹⁶⁴ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 86

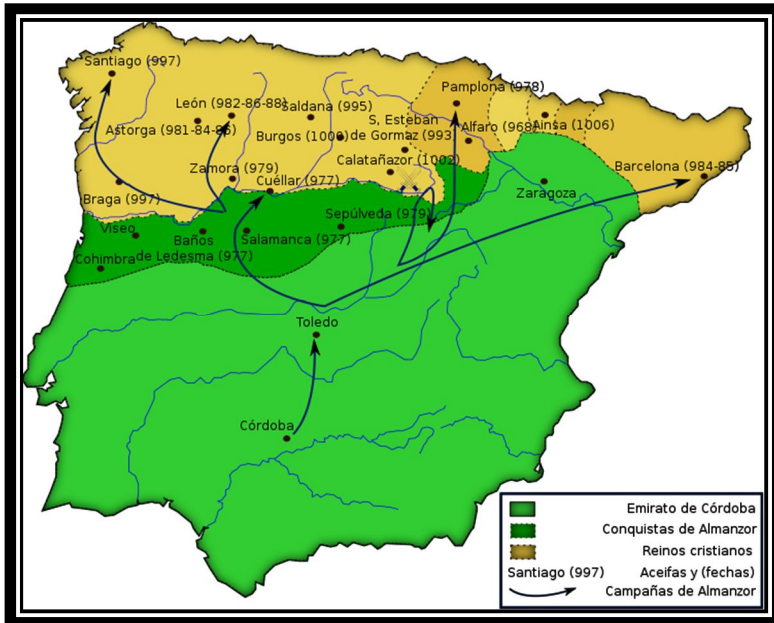
976-1008 Hisham II

Hisham II was the third Caliph of Cordoba, of the Umayyad dynasty. He ruled 976-1009, and 1010-1013 in the Al-Andalus. Hisham II succeeded his father Al-Hakam II as Caliph of Cordoba in 976 at the age of 10, with his mother Subh and the first minister Jafar al-Mushafi acting as Regents. General Ghalib and Al-Mansur Ibn Abi Amir (Almansor) managed to prevent the eunuchs from placing a brother of al-Hakam II on the throne. Subh advanced Al-Mansur and appointed him to the treasury of the Caliphate. Hisham II himself was kept from government and exercised no political influence, and in 997 he was even forced to officially hand over sole control of the government to Al-Mansur, under whom the Caliphate reached its greatest extent and attained its greatest success over the Christian states.

It would not have been prudent to reproach al-Mansor openly with lax views in the matter of faith, but it was whispered that he loved philosophy and was secretly a keen student of that science. In those days this was a very grave accusation. Ibn Abi 'Amir was aware of this. Philosopher or not, he was primarily a Statesman, and in order to deprive his enemies of the formidable weapon they might wield against him, he resolved to show by a signal act of orthodoxy, what a sound Musulman he was. Summoning the most distinguished divines, such as Acili, Ibn Dhakwan, and Zubaidi, he conducted them to the great library of Hakam II, and telling them that he had determined to destroy all the treatises on Philosophy, Astronomy, and other sciences forbidden by religion, he bade them weed out the obnoxious volumes. The divines at once set to work, and when their task was accomplished the Minister ordered the condemned books to be burned, and to show his zeal for the faith committed some to the flames with his own hands. That

GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, Ángel (1957) *Árabes murcianos ilustres*. In: Murgetana, No. 10, pp. 9-43 Citation on p. 17

this was an act of vandalism few knew better than the enlightened Ibn Abi 'Amir himself, but none the less it produced an excellent effect amongst the Fakihs and the lower orders; the more so because the Minister henceforth posed as the enemy of philosophy and the mainstay of religion.



Almanzor Campaigns

He treated preachers with the utmost respect, loaded them with favours, and listened to their pious harangues, however lengthy, with a patient attention which was wholly edifying. Further, he transcribed the Koran with his own hand, and henceforth on his journeys always took the copy with him. In this way he thus established a reputation for orthodoxy, and one so well grounded that none thenceforth dared to dispute it¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶⁵ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) Spanish Islam. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 490-461.

After Al-Mansur's death¹⁶⁶ in 1002 his son Abd al-Malik (1002–1008) came to power and secured his position in the Caliphate with successful campaigns against Navarre and Barcelona before being murdered by Abd ur-Rahman Sangul (1008–1009)¹⁶⁷.

After Abd al-Malik his ambitious half brother Abd al-Rahman Sanchuelo took over. He tried to take the Caliphate for himself from Hisham, as al-Mansur had effectively made the caliph a figurehead ruler. This plunged the country into a civil war and the Caliphate disintegrated into rival *Taifa* kingdom. This proved disastrous for Muslim Iberia as, being divided, the Christian kingdoms were able to conquer the Taifas one by one.

Tudmir

Apparently Qâsim ibn Muhammad (d. 998), grandson of Qâsim ibn Asbagh, was governor of Tudmir for some time. Ibn al-FaraDî described him as a literary man of good character and mild temper¹⁶⁸.

The great officers of the Crown were Syrian and Arab descents of the first period who extremely increased their assets in reward for service rendered. In the late tenth century Abdal-Malik ibn Suhayd, who was governor of Valencia and Murcia

¹⁶⁶ **GRANJA, Fernando de la** (1968) *El testamento de Almanzor*. In: Miscelánea ofrecida a Ilmo. Sr. José María Lacarra y Miguel, Zaragoza, pp. 325-322

¹⁶⁷ **DODDS, Jerrilynn D.** (1992) *Al-Andalus: the art of Islamic Spain*, an exhibition catalog from The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

GERLI, Michael (2003) *Medieval Iberia: An encyclopaedia*, Routledge. Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)

¹⁶⁸ Ibn al-FaraDî, *Ta'rikh al'ulama'*, no. 1079. Cited by CHRISTYS, *Ann (0000) Christians in Al-Andalus (8th-10th centuries)*. Dissertation submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Leeds, School of History, p. 154

for nine years, returned with incalculable riches, including the title to five hundred acres of land¹⁶⁹.

At the close of the year 368/978, the governor of Toledo Abdelmelic Ben Ahmed Ben Said Ben Abu Meruan, defied Galib the Alcaide of Medina Selim to mortal combat, and in that duel Galib lost his life. He was a man of great bravery, and much esteemed by Muhamad Almanzor, who deprived Abdelmelic of his government for that defiance and its consequences, appointing in his place Abdallah Ben Abdelaziz Ben Muhamad Ben Abdelaziz Ben Omeya, called Abu Becri, a cavalier of great wealth, and much favoured by the Sultana-mother. He possessed large domains, having villages in the Land of Todmir; nay, some have asserted that he had more than one thousand farms in those Comarcas: but he was a hard man and exceedingly avaricious, for which cause the Christians called him in their language the Dry Stone¹⁷⁰.

Murcia also had a famous jurist at the time of Al-Mansor¹⁷¹ called Muhammad b. Yabqa al-Amawi. In this aspect we must know that *Wa'z* is the discourse of an authority or socially recognized authoritative speech, the authority ultimately traced back to God and the prophets. The Sufi ascetics appear to be the most prolific practitioners of *wa'z*, judging by the fact that most of the biographical information about *wa'z* is located in Sufi hagiographies where there is a corresponding absence of notices about *khutaba'*. However, Jurist also engaged in this

¹⁶⁹ **LIARTE ALCAINE, María Rosa** (2010) *El Califato Cordobés: características y estructura económica*. In: *Revista de Claseshistoria*, Artículo Nº 127, p. 5

¹⁷⁰ **CONDE, J.A.** (1854). *History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain*. Translated from the Spanish of Dr. J.A. Conde, by Mrs. Jonathan Foster, Volume I, p. 503.

¹⁷¹ **HAMMADI MEJDOUBI, Hanaa Mohamed** (2012) *Ibn Sa'id Al-Magribi. Al-Mugrib fi Hula al-Magrib. Lo extraordinario sobre las galas del Occidente islámico. El reino de Elvira y rel reino Málaga*. Tesis doctoral. Universidad de Córdoba, p. 48

activity as is the case of Muhammad b. Yabqa al-Amawi of Murcia, who regularly held a popular exhortatory preaching assembly¹⁷².

It was often the case in Arab Spain that many men illustrious in science and religiosity came out of their study and meditation to fight in the front line against Northern Christians. Worthy of special mention is a famous jurist and ascetic man of Cora Tudmir who deserved the dictation of war martyr of the holy war. His name was Mohammed, son of Abulhisam Tahir, who was a man of extraordinary merit. After getting early education in his hometown and Cordoba he left for the East where he spent several years between Medina, the Mecca, Jerusalem, and other cities, reaching the fame of his learning traveling from East to West. When he returned to Todmir, he established his home in Murcia on the outskirts of the capital on a farm belonging to the Benitāhir in which the building is built embellished with inscriptions and art objects. On the side of the building he had a garden which he tended himself and from which he ate the fruit. But his biographers observed that he neglected his duty in the holy war. He abandoned the delights of his home and enlisted himself in the ranks of Mohammed, son of Abuāmīr Mansur and their leaders, attending to the conquest of Zamora and Coimbra. Later he turned to the marabout border, becoming famous for his courage and prowess until he was killed in the campaign of Talavera in the year 988 - 989¹⁷³.

¹⁷² **JONES, Linda G.** (2007) *Witnesses of God: Exhortatory Preachers in Medieval Al-Andalus and the Magreb*. In: Al-Qantara, XXVIII I, enero julio, pp. 73-100. Citation on p. 77

¹⁷³ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, pp. 87-88

A remarkable woman in Murcia

María Luis Ávila mentions the following remarkable woman in those years¹⁷⁴:

Fathūna bint Ya'far b . Ya'far, Umm al-Fath (¿s. IV/X?)¹⁷⁵ from Murcia.

Adiba y cronicler (tūrjiyya) . Se wrote a Kitāb fī giyān al-Andalus, emulating the work of Abū l-Faray al-Isfahāni known as Kitāb al-agani, written in the year 356/966.

Lorca

During the first centuries of Muslim rule the name of Murcia will not appear next to the Arab writers, because the town did not exist until a later date. Only in Lorca of the tenth century there existed a group of religious writers (traditionalists and genealogists who were explaining the Qur'an and its interpretation through the transmitted words and the relationship that existed between those through whom the version reaches us). They are Khalaf Ibn Hisham, Mohamed Ibn Samauydin, Hafs ibn Hafs, Malic Abul-Kassim, Ahmed Abul-Abbas and Mohamed al-Tamimi, whom one might consider to

¹⁷⁴ **ÁVILA, María Luisa** (1989) *Las mujeres "sabias" en Al-Andalus*. In: *La mujer en al-Andalus: reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*. Edition de María J. Viguera. Madrid, Sevilla, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 139-184. Citation on p. 156

¹⁷⁵ **IBN AL-ABBAR**. (1887) *Al-Takmila li-kitab al-Sila*. Ed. F. Codera, en *BAH*, v. V-VI, Madrid. Edition M. Alarcón and C.A. Gonzalez Palencia in: *Miscelánea de Estudios y textos árabes*, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690. See N°. 2868

IBN `ABD AL-MALIK AL-MARRAKUSI, *Al-Dayl wa-l-takmila*. V. I-1-2, VIII-2, ed. M. IBN SARIFA, Beirut, (Without year). V. VI y V-1-2, ed. I. 'ABBAS, Beirut, 1964 y 1965. See VIII-2, N°. 272.

PONS BOIGUES, F. (1898) *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los Historiadores y Geógrafos árabe-españoles*. Madrid, 1898, p. 513

be the oldest writers of the region because they lived in the ninth and tenth century¹⁷⁶.

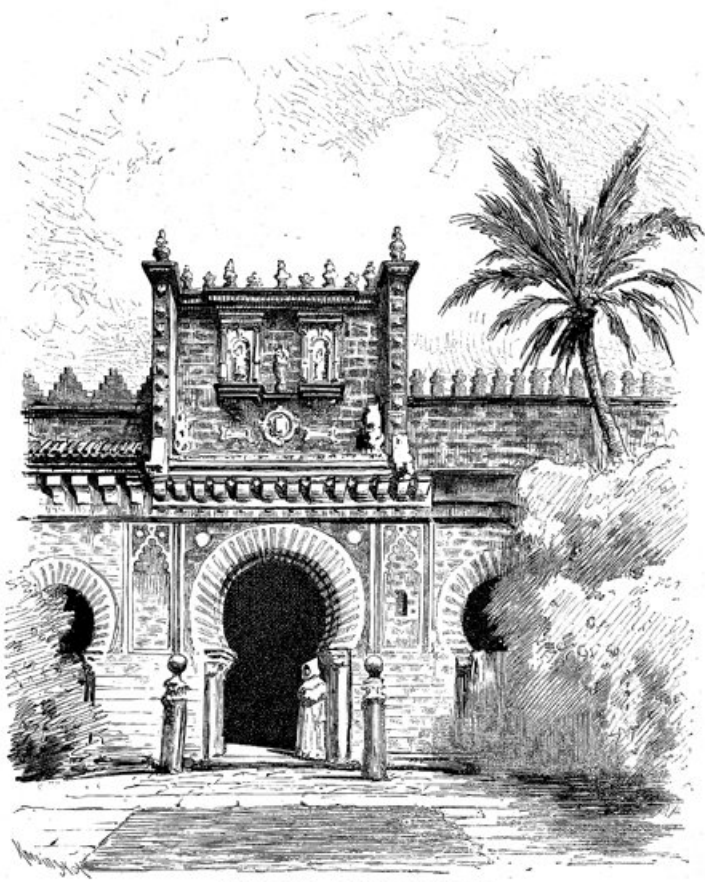
Al-Manzor

Having assembled a large force, Al-Manzor, set out from Cordova on May 5, 985, taking with him forty salaried poets to hymn his victories. Passing Elvira, Baeza, and Lorca, he entered Murcia where he became the guest of Ibn Khattab - a private land-owner, holding no official rank but possessing wide domains from which he derived immense revenue. A client of the Omayyads, he probably came of Vizigothic stock and was perhaps a descendant of that Theodemir who at the time of the conquest had made such advantageous terms with the Moslems that he and his son Athanagild reigned as almost independent princes over the province of Murcia.

Be this as it may, Ibn Khattab was as open-handed as he was wealthy. For thirteen days, not only Almanzor and his suite, but the whole army, from vizier to trooper, were his guests. He took care that the Minister's board should be sumptuously served; never did the same dainties nor the same table equipage appear twice upon it -while one day he pushed prodigality to the extent of offering his guest a bath of rose-water. Accustomed as he was to luxury, Almanzor was amazed at his host's profusion: he praised it without stint, and in token of his approbation, released him from payment of a portion of the land-tax. The Minister further enjoined the magistrates who administered the province to show Ibn Khattab the utmost deference, and to consult his wishes as far as possible¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷⁶ **DIEZ DE REVENGA, Francisco Javier & PACO, Mariano de** (1989) *Historia de la literatura murciana*. Universidad de Murcia. Academia Iñonso X el Sabio. Editora Regional de Murcia, p. 8

¹⁷⁷ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, p. 501.



PUERTA DE LA CATEDRAL DE CÓRDOBA

**Cathedral's door of Cordoba
Engraving of Knesing**

There was another event in relationship with Tudmir and Almanzor. It had to do with a granary of which the exact location we do not know, but it was situated in the territory of Tudmir. Francisco Franco-Sánchez mentions interesting points with regards to the localization of the granaries: “These stores of the kūra of Tudmir were located in a strategic zone: far from the coast, (...) the Via Augusta, military expeditionary forces did not have to go far off their route when they required supplies from the state granaries in the kuras¹⁷⁸”:

This control was also carried out, although less directly, by the management of those in charge of the provincial granaries, as shown by news from Ibn Bassam, contained in a letter from Ibn Suhayd to the Valencian taifa king, 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Abi 'Amir (Almanzor's grandson), explaining the promise that he had been made to grant him a property in Tudmir. The motive was that Ibn Suhayd's father had been named governor of Tudmir and Valencia by Almanzor, and the exploitation of the aforementioned property in an indeterminate place had been ceded to him; after nine years as governor, his father returned voluntarily to Cordoba weighed down with enormous wealth: *"four hundred gold dinars from the sale of products; gold objects with a value of 100,000 dinars; ownership documents for five hundred head of livestock and two hundred selected slaves"*¹⁷⁹. The governor Ibn Suhayd presented the list of earnings to Almanzor in order for him to indicate the tax that he had to pay for them, complaining about the high price of the grain required to feed the slaves and the livestock. In a display of generosity, Ibn Abi 'Amir exempted him from the taxes and conceded him two thousand *almuds* of cereals, half of wheat, and half, barley, that had to be taken from the state granaries in Villena (Fillana), situated near his property.

¹⁷⁸ **FRANCO-SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2008) *The Andalusian Economy in the Times of Almanzor*. In: *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, II, pp. 83-112. Cited on pp. 93.94

¹⁷⁹ **IBN BASSÂM** (d. 542/1147). *Ad-Dahîra fî mahâsin ahl al-gazîra*, Arab edition by Ihsân 'Abbâs, I. Tunis: Dâr al 'Arabîya li-l-Kitâb, 1975: I, p. 193.

Ricote

One cannot forget the variety of those excellent lemon fruits with which the Ricote Valley at this day abounds, which they cultivated with great skill, and brought to the greatest perfection. It is still difficult to state in which moment husbandmen started with the cultivation of lemons in Ricote and the other villages of the Ricote Valley, being Abarān, Negra (Blanca), Ojos, Ulea and Villanueva de Segura. With respect to the town Ricote of the Ricote Valley, initial research determined that terraces in Ricote were built between 706 A.D. and 778 A.D. These building were undertaken by some of the first Arabic-Berber tribes entering the Iberian Peninsula¹⁸⁰.

The foundational cluster of Ricote irrigated terraces is one of the earliest of its kind attested within the Iberian Peninsula. The Ricote hydraulic system was probably built at the beginning of the 8th century, in coincidence with the first migrations of Arab Berber tribes across the Gibraltar Strait. This date also allows contextualizing the beginning of the agrarian tool complex associated with the management of hydraulic systems. This includes water catchment management, canalization and terrace building, as well as growing of a broad range of exotic products and the development of specific agricultural practices. Irrigation allows simultaneous farming of crops with different requirements and growth rhythms. The peasant has to carry out multiple works simultaneously to satisfy the needs of different plant taxa. Channel network maintenance and plant tending mean a considerable amount of labour per surface unit. This translates into an intensive agrarian system that minimizes risk and uncertainty and allows obtaining multiple harvests within a year. The initial cluster in Ricote was made of broad terraces supported by 1 or 2 m high retaining walls.

However, this initial research and the early date of the Arabic-Berber tribe occupation gave sufficient doubts. Andalusí written records are scarce and mentions of agrarian areas before the

¹⁸⁰ **PUY MAESO, Arnald & BALBO, A.L.** (2013). The genesis of irrigated terraces in al-Andalus. A geoarchaeological perspective on intensive agriculture in semi-arid environments (Ricote, Murcia, Spain). In. *Journal of Arid Environments*, Vol. 89, pp. 45-56.

10th century AD are virtually nonexistent, so the researchers decided to make more analysis with carbon 14 dating. This time the results were quite different as the study¹⁸¹ suggests that the dated Andalusi irrigated terraced cluster of Ricote was likely constructed between the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 13th centuries AD, amending the date of cal AD 647-778 proposed in a former paper by Puy and Balbo. The date of the 10th century AD does not mean that this was the earliest date of the Arabic-Berber tribe occupation, since the irrigated fields constructions were from later time:

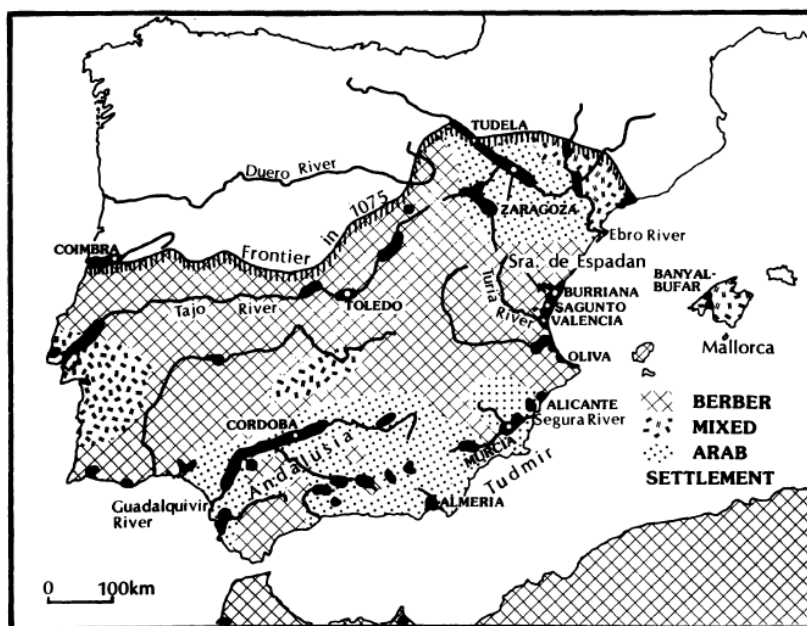
The survival of the first generations of Andalusi tribes and clans might have been based on other agrarian strategies for which no significant archaeological evidence has yet been found. In this scenario, the construction of irrigated fields was not a preferential option during the first centuries of al-Andalus. This concurs with available written records, which start significantly mentioning Andalusi irrigated areas only from the 10th century onwards¹⁸².

The animal-drawn waterwheel or *cenia* was used in the Ricote Valley. Butzer related this “Persian” waterwheel as follows:

This well-lift operated on the principle of toothed gear wheels mounted at right angles to each other (Caro 1955b). Donkeys, cattle, or water buffalo turn the horizontal wheel while the vertical wheel lowers and raises a series of pots through the water below, emptying them into a small canal above. Non-stop irrigation of several hectares of cropland can be achieved in this way, and water can be raised as much as 5 m, e.g., from a river channel onto the floodplain during low water stage or from the aquifers underlying piedmont alluvial plains.

¹⁸¹ **PUY, Arnald; BALBO, Andrea L.; BUBENZER, Olaf** (2016) *Radiocarbon Dating of Agrarian Terraces by Means of Buried Soils*. In: Radiocarbon, January (Pending)

¹⁸² **GUICHARD, P.** (2001). *Al-Andalus Frente a la Conquista Cristiana. Los Musulmanes de Valencia (siglos XI-XIII)*. Valencia: Universitat de València.



Irrigated areas of the Ricote Valley (shown in black)
of about A.D. 1075 B of Arab and Berber settlement¹⁸³

Norias in the Ricote Valley

Having found a valve of a pumping water system created by the Romans in the port of Oiassa (Irun) in 1998 it appeared that there are only about twenty rests of this technology in the world. The Danish scientist Thorkild Schioler identified the metallic piece as part of a Ctesibius pump. Ctesibius was a Greek engineer of Alexandria in the third century B.C. Here we

¹⁸³ BUTZER, Karl W.; MATEU, Juan F.; BUTZER, Elisabeth K.; KRAUS, Pavel (1985). Irrigation Agrosystems in Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins? In: Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 75, N° 4, pp. 479-509. Citation on p. 483.

see that the Greek hydraulic works were taken over by the Romans.

It is obvious to assume that similar situations happened in the past in the Ricote Valley in the sense that the hydraulic works introduced in the Valley came from other countries. Abd al-Rahman I (Damasco, marzo de 731-Córdoba, 788) introduced a new form of farming in Spain that depended on irrigation¹⁸⁴. It is quite difficult to establish the first date when the Berbers¹⁸⁵ introduced the water wheels in the Ricote Valley, but it is reasonable to suppose that they appeared in the 11th century.

It is possible that the waterwheel had attached pots in its circumference in the beginning, and that it was powered by the movement of the current. The current of the stream turned the waterwheel, and as the wheel rotated it lowered the empty pots into the stream where they were filled with water. As the wheel continued to turn, the filled pots became elevated, emptying their contents into a trough or aqueduct that carried the water away. Then the empty pots would continue down to be filled again.

In different places of Spain the Roman irrigation system was replaced by the Islamic one¹⁸⁶; apparently this was not the case

¹⁸⁴ ALLEN, Marilyn Penn (2008) *Cultural Flourishing in Tenth-Century Muslim Spain Among Muslims, Jews, and Christians*. A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the School of Continuing Studies and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Liberal Studies. Georgetown University, Washington D.C., p. 29

¹⁸⁵ For the term "Berber", see: ROUGH, Ramzi (2011) *The Berbers of the Arabs*. In: *Studia Islamica*, Vol. 106, Nº 1, pp. 49-76

¹⁸⁶ BUTZER, Karl W.; MATEU, Juan F.; BUTZER, Elisabeth K.; KRAUS, Pavel (1985) *Irrigation Agrosystems in Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins?* In: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 75, Nº 4, pp. 479-509

in the Ricote Valley where only the Islamic irrigation system was implanted.

Both the noria and its pot seem to have been related to Syrian prototypes. The most representative noria pot of medieval times had a waisted middle and a knob on the bottom to facilitate the lashing of the pot to the noria rope; this style is related to Syrian prototypes. Consequently, the origin of the noria of the Islamic Ricote Valley must be regarded as Syrian by inspiration¹⁸⁷. Glick observes that “The first, characteristic of huertas watered by a river such as Valencia, Castellon, Gandia, and Murcia was modeled after the system of the Ghiita, or garden, of Damascus”¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁷ **GLICK, Thomas F.** (1977) *Noria Pots in Spain*. In: Technology and Culture, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 644-650

SCHIOLER, Thorkild (1973) *Roman and Islamic Water-lifting Wheels*, Copenhagen, pp. 16-25

¹⁸⁸ **GLICK, Thomas F.** (1969) Medieval Irrigation Clocks. In: Technology and Culture, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 424-428

1008-1009 Muhammad II

When Abd al-Rahman went on an expedition against King Alfonso V of León (February 1009), the citizens of Córdoba rose against him. They were led by Muhammad II al-Mahdi, a member of the dynasty of the Umayyads. Muhammad II al-Mahdi dethroned his relative Hisham II, became the new caliph, and destroyed the residence of Abd al-Rahman called al-Madina al-Zahira ("the flourishing city"). On receiving this news Abd al-Rahman returned to Córdoba, but his troops abandoned him. He was arrested and later assassinated by the order of al-Mahdi¹⁸⁹.

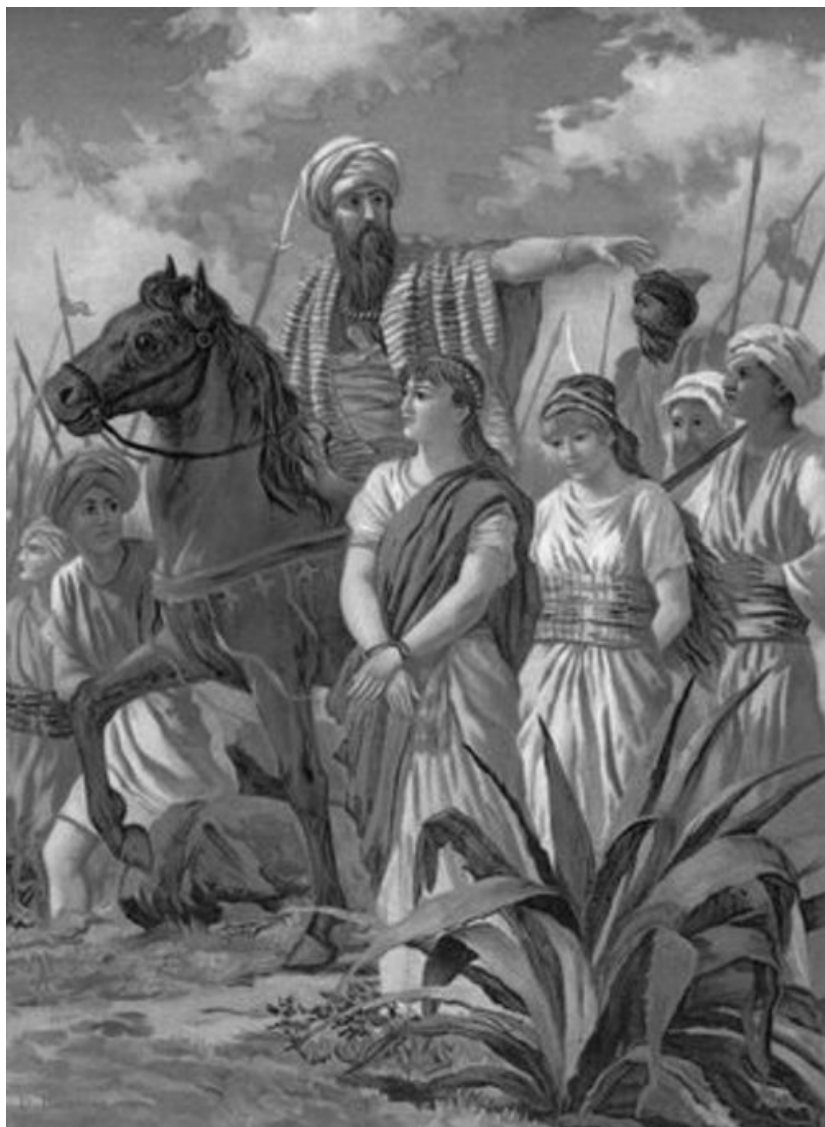
Mohammed II al-Mahdi was the fourth caliph of Cordoba, of the Umayyad dynasty in the Al-Andalus (Moorish Iberia). After disbanding his army of 7,000 troops he became the source of opposition to many of his subjects. al-Mahdi sought to defend his title as caliph after the rise of Suleiman II as a political opponent. After a turbulent rule in which many warring factions rose to power in an attempt to supplant al-Mahdi, he was eventually deposed. After his death many Muslim historians accused him of destroying the sanctity of the Amirid Harem. In 1009 a popular uprising led by Muhammad II al-Mahdi deposed both Sangul and Hisham II, the latter being kept imprisoned in Cordoba under the new regime¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁹ **LÉVI PROVENÇAL, Évariste** (1960) 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Abi Amir Sanchuelo. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, vol. 1, p. 84

Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).

¹⁹⁰ **C. SCALES, Peter C.** (1993) *The Fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba: Berbers and Andalus in Conflict*. BRILL. pp. 61–74

Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).



Prisoners for the Harem
Painting of Dionisio Baixeras i Verdaguier

Tudmir

The Slavic leaders spread across eastern Spain and picked up the provisional government of their major cities. Denia with its districts submitted to Mochéhid (Mujāhid); Xativa to Nabil; Valencia to Sadum; Almeria to Khairan Saqlabi, and Murcia to Uasil in 1009. We do not know for how long Uasil had the provisional government of Murcia, but it must have been a short one. It quickly thereafter fell into the hands of a more powerful general Jairan, the lord of Almeria¹⁹¹. However, even Gaspar Remir has doubts about the persona of Uasil, since he only had one (bad) reference.

Lorca

One of the most honourable facts of Khairan was the protection that he dispensed to the famous jurist and ascetic of Cordova, Muhammed, son of Muhammad, son of Alif ben Maryul surnamed Abuómar, author of a treatise on education and a history of qadis and jurists of Córdoba among other works. He exerted a notarial office under the government of Almahdi in the capital of the caliphate. However, as the revolution broke out again, he moved to Almeria, and then Khairan appointed him qadi of Lorca, a position that he held until his death in 1029¹⁹².

¹⁹¹ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, pp. 91-92

¹⁹² **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 98

1009-1010 Sulayman II

Sulayman II ibn al-Hakam (or Sulayman al-Musta'in) (died 1016) was the fifth Umayyad caliph of Córdoba, ruling from 1009 to 1010, and from 1013 to 1016 in Al-Andalus. In 1009, after Muhammad II ibn Hisham had led a revolution against caliph Hisham II al-Hakam and imprisoned him taking advantage of the fact that the kingdom's strong man Abd al-Rahman Sanchuelo was fighting in León against the Christian king Alfonso V, Sulayman took command of an army of Berbers who had abandoned Muhammad; through alliance with count Sancho García of Castile he was able to defeat Muhammad on November 1 of that year in the battle of Alcolea.



**Alfonso V in the Cathedral of Leon
Illustration of středověk**

While Muhammad took refuge in Toledo he entered Córdoba, which he allowed to be plundered by Berbers and Castilians, he freed and recognized caliph Hisham II, only to depose him after a few days. He was thus elected caliph by his Berber troops, assuming the title (*laqab*) of al-Musta'in bi-llah ("He Who Seeks God's Help").

Sulayman was however unable to conquer Toledo. In May 1010 Muhammad, who had reorganized his troops of "slave" mercenaries from all over Europe and had allied with Count Ramon Borrell of Barcelona, defeated Sulayman and conquered Córdoba, which was plundered by the Catalans. Muhammad was made caliph again, but his mercenaries assassinated him in July and restored Hisham II¹⁹³.

Tudmir

The kingdom of Denia was created in 1010 following the disintegration of the Caliphate of Cordoba by Mujahid al-Siqlabi, a former high functionary of the Caliphate and had a relatively powerful navy which in 1015 was used to take control of the Balearic Islands to then invade Sardinia. At that time Murcia was in the hands of Mujāhid, of which the following text could be a proof¹⁹⁴:

¹⁹³ **ALTAMIRA, Rafael** (1999) *"Il califfato occidentale"*. Storia del mondo medievale II. pp. 477–515

Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)

¹⁹⁴ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARĪ**, Ahmed (1843) *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*: extracted from the Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib waṭ āriq h Lisānu-d-Dīn Ibni-l-khattīb / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallarī; Translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the history, geography, and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume I, p. 184

“*The Kitābu-l-qfāl* (the book of verbs) by Mohammed Ibn ‘A‘mir Al-maghrebī, better known by the surname of *Ibnu-l-kūttiyyah* (the son of the Goth), with the additions by Ibn Tarīf, a *maulī* of the ‘Obeydites, is generally considered to be the best work on the subject.

“A compilation of Abū Ghālib Temām Ibn Ghālib, known by the surname of *Ibnu-t-tabbān*, on the various topics connected with the language, passes for the best book of its kind, not only on account of the valuable information which he collected in an abridged state, but also owing to what he introduced of his own, and the fidelity of his quotations. The author, I presume, is still living, (may he live long!) But I cannot proceed any further with my epistle without relating an anecdote concerning this distinguished writer. I was told by Abū-l-walīd ‘Ab-dullāh Ibn Mohammed Ibn ‘Abdillāh, known by the surname of *Ibnu-l-faradhī*, that when Abū-l-jeish Mujāhid, King of Al-jezāyir (Algiers) and Denia, conquered the city of Murcia, he sent to Abū Ghālib, who was then residing in that city, the sum of one thousand dinārs of Andalus, on condition that he would make an addition to the title-page of the said work, and say that it had been written for him. This, however, Abū Ghālib refused to do, and returned the money, nor did he ever afterwards comply with the wishes of the Sultān; on the contrary, he said to the messenger, “*Tell your master that were he to lavish on me all the treasures of this world, I would persist in my resolution; I cannot tell a lie; this book of mine was not written for him, but for the generality of studious people.*” When Abū Ghālib’s answer was communicated to Mujāhid, he was very much surprised at the boldness and severity of his words, but he could not help admiring the steel temper of the writer’s soul, and his contempt for wordly considerations”.

1010-1013 Hisham II

The next few years saw rapid changes of leadership as a result of wars between Berber and Arab armies, as well as of Slavic Mercenaries, with al-Mahdi losing out to Sulaiman al-Mustain in 1009 before regaining power in 1010. Finally the Slavic troops of the Caliphate under al-Wahdid restored Hisham II as Caliph (1010–1013).

Hisham II was now under the influence of al-Wahdid, who was nevertheless unable to gain control of the Berber troops - they still supported Sulaiman, and the civil war continued¹⁹⁵. Under a sovereign as feeble as Hisham II the Slavs were all powerful. Wadhih, who still held the post of Prime Minister, accordingly aimed at governing Spain after the manner of his patron Almanzor. Unluckily for him, circumstances had changed and Wadhih was not Almanzor. At a certain moment the government was out of resources; to obtain a little money Wadhih was even obliged to sell the greater part of Hakam's library.

The villages were deserted, and a traveller might have journeyed for days along what were a short while before the most frequented routes without meeting a living being. In the summer of 1011 distress in Spain, and especially in Cordova, was intensified. It seemed as though that ill-starred city, devastated by pestilence, found morbid delight in increasing its agony by civil discord. The soldiers ascribed all their troubles to Wadhih, and the Slav general, Ibn Abi Wada'a, a personal enemy of the Minister, fomented their discontent. Publicly insulted and feeling his position untenable, Wadhih despatched

¹⁹⁵ **DODDS, Jerrilynn D.** (1992) *Al-Andalus: the art of Islamic Spain*, an exhibition catalog from The Metropolitan Museum of Art

GERLI, Michael (2003) *Medieval Iberia: an Encyclopaedia*, Routledge.
Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)

Ibn Bakr to propose peace to Sulaiman. However, two years later Sulaiman captured Cordoba and came to power again.

Luisa María Arvide Cambra, professor at the University of Almería, gives us the exact definition of the Slavs in one of her articles:

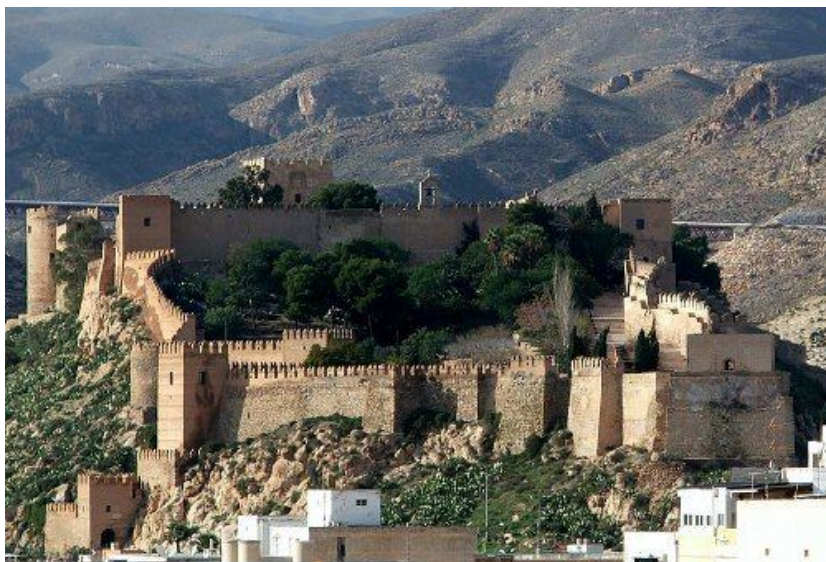
The Slavs, the *saqaliba*, were captives from Europe and Orient. Many of them were intended to be eunuchs. They were castrated by the Jews, probably in Lucena, and were sold very expensive for positions in domestic services and harem, even the Caliphate guard. Although they were slaves, most were freed, becoming then *mawali* (clients), and took the name of the adoptive family; and, in this case, reached positions of some responsibility in the administration and the Caliphate army. Some less, as Khayran and Zuhayr, became governors. The Slavs were involved in diverse important events throughout the history of medieval Islam, but is now in the eleventh century when they had a very prominent role in al-Andalus (.....)¹⁹⁶.

Tudmir

The lord of Almeria Jairan (Jayram) defended the town of Cordoba for three years, but was finally defeated on 19 April 1013 by Sulyman's troops. He could escape from his enemies and formed an army with his slaves and seized Almeria, his ancient government. He conquered Orihuela¹⁹⁷ between 1013 and 1014.

¹⁹⁶ **ARVIDE CAMBRA, Luisa María** (2015). The splendor of Almería in the eleventh century during the perios of the *Muluk Al-Tawa'if* (Kings of Taifas). In: European Scientific Journal, February, edition vol. 1, pp. 358-362.

¹⁹⁷ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 93



The castle of Almeria founded by Abd ar-Rahman III
CC BY 3.0 Photo: Ane

Lorca

Thanks to the Fundación Rodríguez Costa the research work of Manuel Gomez Moreno (1870-1970) continues calling historians' attention. In one of his publications¹⁹⁸ he mentions an Arab coin from the year 1009 kept in the South Kensington Museum of London, without indicating the city. That is done by Haro Gutiérrez¹⁹⁹ who mentions the city of Lorca.

¹⁹⁸ **GÓMEZ MORENO, Manuel** (1951) *El arte arabe español hasta los almohades. Arte mozárabe*. In: *Ars Hispaniae*. Tomo III, Madrid, p. 338

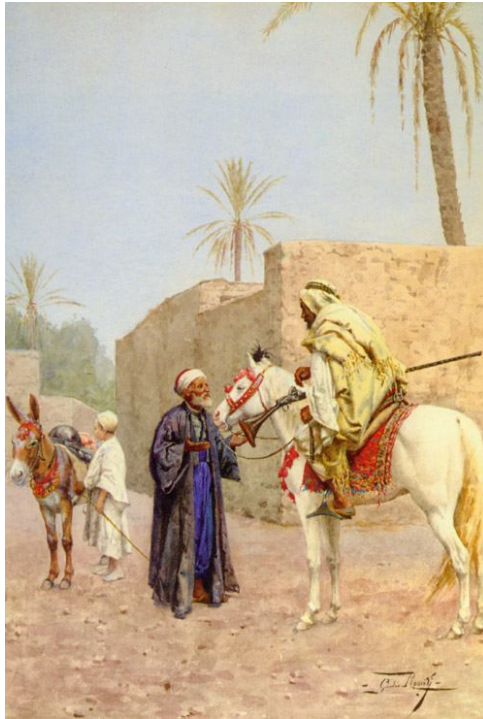
¹⁹⁹ **HARO GUTIÉRREZ, A. B.** (2004) *Conjunto de Charilla. Un nuevo estudio*. In: *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* 11.1, pp. 115-123



Manuel Gomez Moreno
<http://www.fundacionrodriguezacosta.com>

1013-1016 Sulayman II

Sulayman II ibn al-Hakam (or Sulayman al-Musta'in, d. 1016) still had the support of the Berber troops. In 1013 the Berbers took Cordoba by the storm with much plundering and destruction. The Berber tribesmen destroyed most of the library established by Umayyad caliph Hakama II (961-976). That library had 400,000 books. The destruction of this library by the Berbers was a serious blow to the Arab literature²⁰⁰. What happened to Hisham II after that is uncertain.



The discussion (Giulio Rosati)

²⁰⁰ **ISLAM, Misbah** (2008) *Decline of Muslim States and Societies: The Real Root Causes and What Can Be Done Next*. Library of Congress, p. 53

Yet it was by no means certain that Hisham still lived. The most contradictory rumours were current with regard to him. Some declared that Sulaiman had put him to death; others, that he had immured him in a dungeon. The latter assertion met with most belief, for on the execution of a deposed monarch by a usurper the dead body was customarily exhibited to the people of the Capital” and no one had seen Hisham’s corpse. The Slavs therefore continued to fight in Hisham’s name. Khairan was their most prominent leader. It is certain that Hisham never reappeared, and that the person afterwards passed off for”him was an impostor. But, on the other hand, it was never proved that Hisham was slain by Sulaiman or died a natural death during that prince’s reign. It is true that Sulaiman had averred before the notables of Cordova that Hisham was no more; but his testimony seems to us to be untrustworthy, and Ali may have encouraged him to believe that the declaration would save his life. Sulaiman, it must be remembered, was by no means bloodthirsty, and it is not to be supposed that he would commit a crime from which even the ferocious Mahdi had recoiled. It may be pointed out, also, that if Hisham had really died during his reign Sulaiman would have exposed his corpse to the Cordovans, as custom and self-interest demanded. The Omayyad clients urge that he despised the Cordovans too much to do so; but they forget that he did not despise the Slavs, that he did his utmost to get himself recognised by them, and that he could have found no better way than by convincing them of Hisham’s death. Finally, we have the testimony of Sulaiman’s aged father, who despite his son’s assertion, took God to witness that Hisham still lived. Would this devout old man have lied just as he was about to appear before the tribunal of the Eternal? It seems improbable.

These considerations tend to the belief that there was some truth in the tales of the women and eunuchs of the seraglio. They declared that Hisham had contrived to escape from the palace during Sulaiman’s reign, and that after hiding in Cordova, and earning his bread as a common labourer, he fled to Asia. Was

the escape made with Sulaiman's connivance? Did Hisham swear to disturb him no more? Did they remain in communication with one another? Such are questions suggested by the words of Sulaiman's father; but no positive answers can be given to them. It does not, however, seem improbable that Hisham, weary of hearing his name used as a war-cry by ambitious men who had not left him even the shadow of power, sought an asylum in some obscure corner of Asia, and there ended in peaceful seclusion a life which had been full of pain and sorrow. Ibn Abi 'Amir Mahommed ben Abdallah heard from Sulayman II that Hisham was dead. The Slavs were, therefore, obliged to admit that their legitimate monarch was no more, and to recognise Ali as his successor. Ali then ordered Sulaiman, as well as his brother and father, to be put to death. But as the latter was being led to execution, Ali said to him: "You have killed Hisham, then?" "Nay," replied the pious septuagenarian, who, absorbed in religious exercises, had taken no part in political events; "as God is my witness, we have not slain Hisham. He is still alive. However, the confession of this old man was not enough to save the life of Sulaiman, as well as his brother and father"²⁰¹. Strangely enough, there were coins made in his name. In any case, Sulaiman al-Mustain (1013–1016) became caliph²⁰².

Murcia

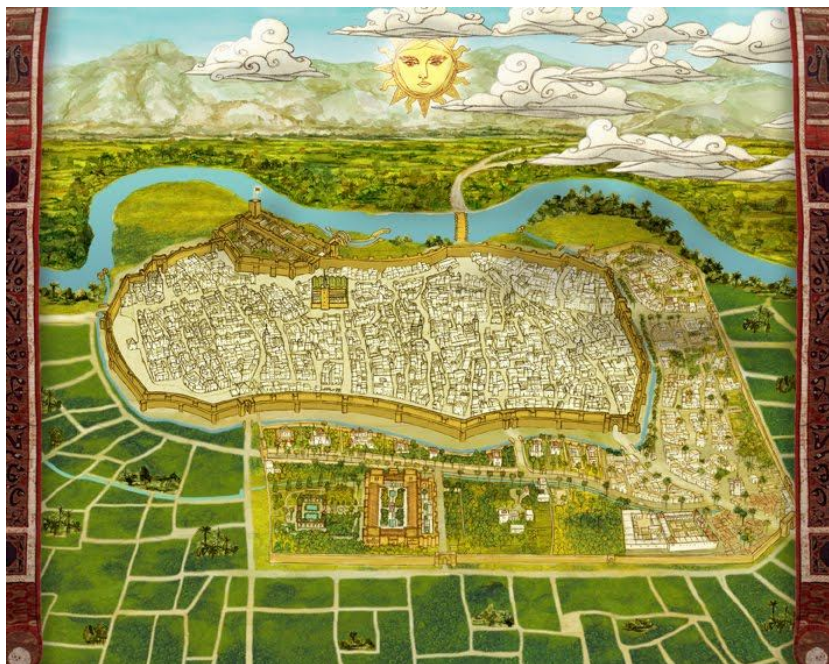
The lord of Almeria Khairan (Jayram) who had conquered Orihuela between 1013 and 1014, conquered Murcia between 1016 and 1017²⁰³. Jayram decided to move his government to

²⁰¹ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, p. 501.

²⁰² **DOMÉNECH BELDA, Carolina** (2006) *El tesorillo islámico de Begastri*. In: *Espacio y tiempo en la precepción de la Antigüedad*, Tardía. Antig. Crist. (Murcia) XXIII, pp. 211-249

²⁰³ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 93

Almeria and delegated the control of the lands of Murcia to Zuhayr (Zohair), also Slavic and a close friend of his²⁰⁴.

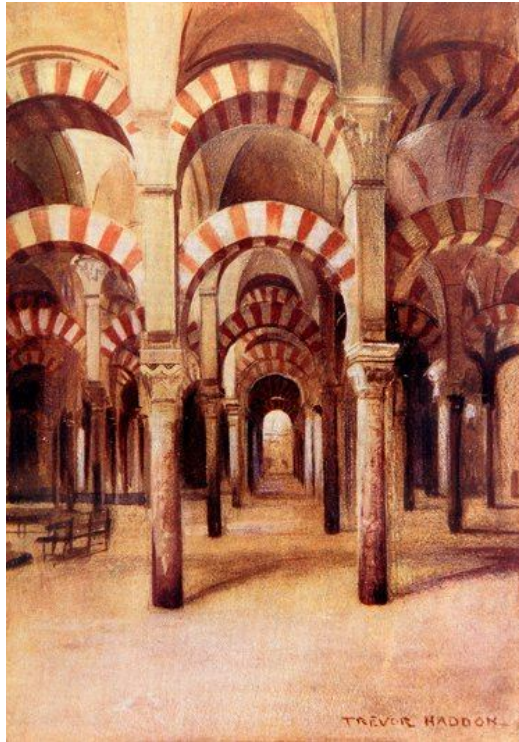


Obra de Juan Navarro Lorente
<http://www.navarroilustracion.com/>

²⁰⁴ **MOLINA LÓPEZ, E.** (1986) *Aproximación al estudio de la Cartagena islámica*. In: Historia de Cartagena, Vol. V, Murcia, pp. 195-318, cited on p. 259

1016-1016 Sulayman II, his widow

After the death of Al-Hakam II, the rule went to the Sultana, and her trusted agent Ibn Abi ‘Amir Mahommed ben Abdallah - an Arab of noble descent, who in his early life was a scribe, and who rose by making himself useful first to the ministers and to the favourite wife. By them he was promoted, and in time he brought their ruin. By her he was made *hajib* -lord chamberlain, prime minister, great domestic, *alter ego*, in short, of the puppet caliph²⁰⁵ -for Hisham II.



Mosque of Cordoba (Trevor Haddon)

²⁰⁵ ENCICLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA (1911), Vol. 25, pp. 542-543.

The administration of Mahommed ben Abdallah, who took the royal name al-Mansur Billah (“the victorious through God”) and is generally known as Mansur (*q.v.*), is also counted among the glories of the caliphate of Cordova. It was the rule of a strong man who made, and kept under his own control, a janissary army of slaves from all nations, Christian mercenaries from the north, Berbers and negroes from Africa. With that host he made fifty invasions into the Christian territory. A more statesmanlike conqueror leading a people capable of real civilization would have made five, and his work would have lasted. Mansur made raids, and left his enemies in a position to regain all they had lost. It mattered little that he desolated the shrine of St James at Compostella, the monastery of Cardena in Castile, took Leon, Pamplona and Barcelona, if at the end he left the roots of the Christian states firm in the soil, and to his son and successor as *hajib* only a mercenary army without patriotism or loyalty. In later times Christian ecclesiastical writers, finding it difficult to justify the unbroken prosperity of the wicked to an age which believed in the judgment of God and trial by combat, invented a final defeat for Mansur at Calatañaxor. He died in 1002 undefeated, but racked by anxiety for the permanence of the prosperity of his house. His son Mozaffar, kept the authority as *hajib*, always in the name of Hisham II, who was hidden away in a second palace suburb of Cordova, Zahira. But Mozaffar lasted for a short time, and then died, poisoned, as it was said, by his brother Abdurrahman, called Sanchol, the son of Mansur by one of the Christian ladies whom he extorted for his harem from the fears of the Christian princes. Abdurrahman Sanchol was vain and feather-headed. He extorted from the feeble caliph the title of successor, thereby deeply offending the princes of the Omayyad house and the populace of Cordoba. He lost his hold on his slaves and mercenaries, whose chiefs had begun to think it would be more to their interest to divide the country among themselves. A palace revolution, headed by Mahommed, of the Omayyad family, who called himself Al Mahdi Billah (guided by God),

and a street riot, upset the power of the *hajib* at Cordova while he was absent on a raid against Castile. His soldiers deserted him, and he was speedily slaughtered. Then in the twinkling of an eye the whole edifice went into ruin. The end of Hisham II. Is unknown, and the other princes perished in a frantic scramble for the throne in which they were the puppets of military adventurers²⁰⁶.

Tudmir

The principality of Murcia was then for some time attached to the kingdom of Valencia, in the reign of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Mansur Ibn Abi ‘Amir and his son ‘Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar²⁰⁷. On the contrary, the town of Lorca was attached to the kingdom of Almeria (Jayram y Zuhayr, 1016-1038).

²⁰⁶ Enciclopaedia britannica (1911), Vol. 25, p. 543.

²⁰⁷ **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1936). The Encyclopaedia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples. E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1936, Volume VI, p. 733.

1016-1018 Ali ibn Hammud al-Nasir

Ali ibn Hammud al-Nasir - al-nāṣir ‘alī ben ḥammūd) (died 22 March 1018) was the sixth Caliph of Córdoba from 1016 until his death. Of Berber origin, he was a member of the Hammudid dynasty of the Al-Andalus. He was named governor of Ceuta after 1013 by caliph Sulayman ibn al-Hakam. Taking advantage of the anarchy then existing in the reign, he conquered Tangiers, also in Africa, then, after occupying the Iberian port of Algeciras, he moved to Málaga. After conquering also the latter, he moved with his North-African army to the capital, Córdoba, capturing it on 1 July 1016.



An arab place (Frederick Arthur Bridgman)

Caliph Suleyman was first imprisoned and then beheaded, when news arrived of the death of the former caliph, Hisham II. Ali was elected caliph, adopting the title (*laqab*) of *al-Nasir li-din Allah* (“Defender of the Religion of God”). Initially the population welcomed him for his impartiality; however, later both his severity and the appearance of a pretender from the

previous ruling dynasty of the Umayyads, Abd ar-Rahman IV, his popularity fell down and he was assassinated on 22 March 1018 by some of this Slavonian eunuchs. Abd ar-Rahman was elected caliph, but he was in turn ousted by Ali's brother, al-Qasim al-Ma'mun, governor of Seville²⁰⁸.



The Giralda at Seville

Begastri (close to Cehegín)

During the excavations on the archaeological site of Besgastri (Cehegín, Murcia) some metallic remains were discovered inside a ceramic vessel. This small treasure, dated to the 11th century, consists of a few pieces of jewelry and 237 silver

²⁰⁸ **ALTAMIRA, Rafael** (1999). "Il califfato occidentale". *Storia del mondo medievale* II. pp. 477–515.

Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).

coins, many of these being small fragmented pieces. Most of the coins are North African, produced by the Fatimids, the enemy dynasty of the Spanish Umayyads. This archaeological find from Begastri (close to Cehegin) is currently the biggest hidden Fatimid silver hoard found in Sarq al-Andalus²⁰⁹. The collection has six pieces in the name of Hisham II, one coin between 1013-14, and there is also a piece between 1016-1017.

²⁰⁹ **DOMÉNECH BELDA, Carolina** (2006) *El tesorillo islámico de Begastri*. In: *Espacio y tiempo en la precepción de la Antigüedad*, Tardía. Antig. Crist. (Murcia) XXIII, pp. 211-249

1018-1018 Abd ar-Rahman IV

Abd ar-Rahman ibn Muhammad (Cordoba? - Guadix, 1018), also known as Rahman IV was the seventh caliph of the Caliphate of Cordoba, pertaining to the Umayyad dynasty, in 1018. He was the son of Muhammad and at the same time son of Abd al-Malik, one of the sons of Abd al-Rahman III.



City gate (Frederick Arthur Bridgman)

Therefore he was the great-grandson of the famous first caliph. At the beginning of the struggle for power in time of caliph Hisham II he retired from the Cordoban court. He was a refugee in Valencia, where he was to enter the throne of hammudí Ali ibn Hamud al-Nasi. In 1018 the supporters of the Umayyad family persuaded him to present himself as a legitimate claimant to the caliphate. Abd ar-Rahman IV was at the head of a powerful army when he was preparing to march against Córdoba after having conquered Jaen in March. Then he received the news that Ali ibn Hamud had been killed and that his supporters had claimed his brother, who acted as governor of Seville, to occupy the vacant throne. The followers of the Umayyads reacted immediately, proclaiming Abd al-Rahman as caliph on 29 April 1018, who adopted the title of al-Murtada (He who enjoys divine satisfaction). Rahman did not prove, however, to be a manageable ruler as his supporters had believed. Thus taking advantage of the Umayyad troops attack against Guadix, he was betrayed, and after being defeated in battle, killed²¹⁰.

Tudmir

Khairan, the lord of Almeria who had conquered Orihuela between 1013 and 1014 and Murcia between 1016 and 1017, continued as ruler of Murcia with the help of his deputy Abulqasim Zuhair.

²¹⁰ **EISNER, Manuel** (2014) *Political Crime in Early Modern Europe: Assassination, Legal Responses, and Popular Print Media*. In: *European Journal of Criminology*, 11 (2): 142-168.

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1018-1021 Al-Qasim al-Ma'mun ibn Hammud²¹¹

Al-Qasim al-Ma'mun ibn Hammud was caliph of Cordoba in Muslim Spain for two periods, 1018 to 1021, and again for a short time in 1023.



Moorish interior (Frederick Arthur Bridgman)

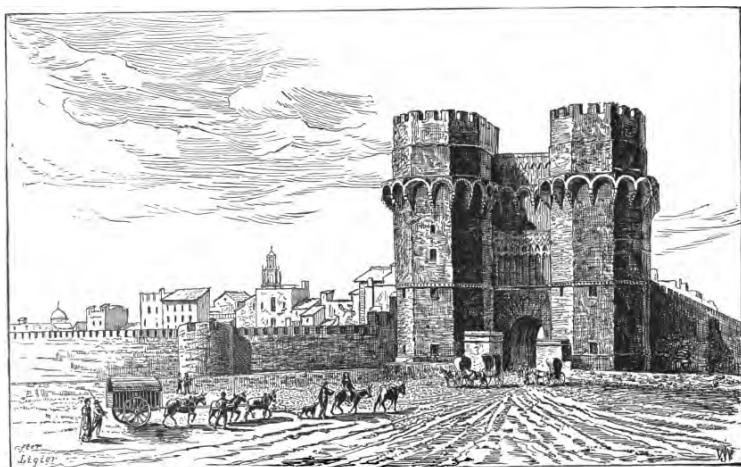
Ali ibn Hammud al-Nasir, was the sixth Caliph of Córdoba, was succeeded by his brother, Al-kāsim Ibn Hamūd, who was his elder by ten years. On his accession to power, Al-kāsim took the surname of Al-māmūn: he was of mild disposition, and the people enjoyed security under his rule. It has been said of him that he was a Shiite; but this report is unfounded, since he never

²¹¹ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tīb min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dīn Ibni-l-khattīb* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallarí; Translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume II, appendix. XI-XII..

showed it in any of his acts; nor did he or any of the other members of his family, who held empire in Andalus, ever countenance by their practice any other sect but the orthodox one. In this way Al-kāsim retained possession of the empire until the month of Rabi' 1., of the year 412 (June or July, AD. 1021), when his nephew, Yahya Ibn 'Ali Ibn Hamūd, rose against him in Malaga. When the news of this rising reached him, Al-kāsim abandoned his capital without a battle, and took refuge in Sevilla. His nephew then left Malaga at the head of his army, and marched upon Cordova, of which city he took possession without resistance. He took then the title of Khalif and the surname of Al-mu'tali.

Tudmir

Being a lover of peace, Al-Qasim called Jayram, reconciling with him. Furthermore, Al-Qasim gave to another Slavic Zohair, governor of Murcia and place lieutenant of the same, the fiefs of Jaén, Calatrava and Baeza. It seems to be that, in the year 1020, Khairan was the soul of the reconcentration of the Slavs, which resulted in the recognition and proclamation as head of all of them of the grandson of the famous Mansur, called Abdelaziz (Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Abi 'Amir). The grandson took the same nickname as his grandfather. This proclamation made in Xativa was only for a short time because Abdelaziz saw himself compelled to retire to Valencia, in which city he managed to hold dominion.



Gate of Serrano, Valencia

He was the first sultan of Valencia and the son of 'Abdu-rahman, and as stated before the grandson of the celebrated Almansūr Ibn Abi 'A'mir, better known in the Spanish chronicles under the name of Almanzor. He was one of the governors who, on the overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah, which had filled the throne of Cordova for 269 years, resisted the authority of the usurper 'Ali Ibn Harnud, and declared themselves independent in their provinces. 'Abdu-l-'aziz maintained himself in his dominions, which extended over the greater part of the modern provinces of Valencia, Murcia, and Almeria, being occasionally at war with his neighbour Ibn Dhi-n-nūn, king of Toledo. He greatly embellished his capital by planting gardens, erecting mosques, baths, and markets, and other works of public utility. The remains of a magnificent palace, called Munyat Arrisafah, which he built for his own residence, were still visible at the time of the conquest of Valencia by James I. of Aragon in A. D. 1238, on the spot which to this day retains the name of Arrizafa. He died in A. h. 452 (A. D. 1060-1), and was succeeded by his son Abu Merwan 'Abdu-l-malek,

who was shortly after deprived of his inheritance by the king of Toledo²¹².

Granaries in Tudmir

The village of Negra had a granary situated in a place known as al-darraix on the other side of the river. Today this zone belongs to the villages of Blanca and Abarān. What was the exact date of this granary? Maybe we need to place its origin into the 10th century. Whatever the exact date, it is interesting to see that the Kura of Tudmir already had state granaries in those years.



The Granary al-Darraix near Blanca and Abaran

²¹² **VARIOUS** (1842). The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of useful knowledge, Volume I, London, p. 68

The toll gateway of Losilla near the Roman road

Close to the ancient village of Ricote in Tudmir (today Ulea) there was a toll place near the Roman Road. Travellers had to pay a toll there for their merchandises. Franco Sánchez recounts the following:

In the Roman state, along the roads built for this purpose, the army went about gathering the tax of the *annona* consisting of wheat, oil, wine, barley, rye, meat, vegetables, etc., and this *annona* was used to pay the costs of the militia. The collected products were stored in provincial granaries built for this purpose, the *mansiones*; a mansion was a station prepared as a place where soldiers and state officials could spend the night, and with stores where they could supply themselves and their troops. The landowners in the surrounding area took the respective contributions (*annonae*) to these stores, silos, or granaries or if it came from communities far afield, the army went to collect the tax²¹³.

Continuing the story of Khairhan, he broke up with Abdelaziz for some reason and proclaimed another grandson of the great Almanzor, called Abuamir Mohammed, son of Almotaфра (Al-Mu'tasim)²¹⁴. Seeing the violence of Al Kasim he had left his home in Cordoba and welcomed the protection of Khairan with a great quantity of money and jewels that he possessed. Al-Mu'tasim took control of Orihuela and Murcia in 1021. Apparently Khairan was not very satisfied with the first acts of Abuamir because shortly thereafter Khairan expelled him from Murcia. The followers of Khairan, as instructed by the latter, snatched money and jewelry from Abuamir.

²¹³ **FRANCO-SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2008) *The Andalusian Economy in the Times of Almanzor* In: *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, II, pp. 83-112. Cited on p. 91

²¹⁴ **RUBIERA MATA, María Jesús** (1987) *El príncipe hastiado, Huhammad ibn 'Abdalmalik ibn Abi 'Amir, efímero soberano de Orihuela y Murcia* In: *Sharq Al-Andalus*, Nº 4, pp. 73-81

Abuamir had to withdraw from Cordoba again. There he had to escape in 1029 and he directed himself to Xativa. However, the city authorities did not permit him to enter the town and after a short stay in Cordoba he tried to flee to Carmona again, but his emir did not agree to him staying. Finally he could arrange his stay in the “Hish Dara” castle on the banks of the river Guadalquivir, where he died in September of 1030 at the age of 29²¹⁵.

Abuamir was a friend of the famous Cordovan polygraph Ibn Hazm (994-1064)⁴. He started to write the work *The Ring of the Dove* in 1022 in hard living conditions when he was in prison in Játiva. By then the Cordovan caliphate showed its first symptoms of weakness. This work is written in very pure Arabic and in rich prose, in which some verses are intercalated with a deep feel. There its author writes about some love aspects based on his own experience and on the testimony of reliable people. We see Abuamir in his famous work of *The Ring of the Dove*:

Writing the above paragraph has put me in mind of a certain day when I, with my companion Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, was bidding farewell to our dear friend Abu `Amin Muhammad Ibn `Amir. (God have him in His mercy!) prior to his departure for the East on that journey after which we were never to see him again.

.....

.....Yet for all that, God bless him, he was a man of culture, intelligent, sagacious, noble and sweet in his ways; he had a penetrating wit, and was withal a great aristocrat, of highly exalted rank, and enjoyed a position of vast prestige. His handsome features and perfect physique were beyond all definition; the imagination boggles to describe even the least part of his manly beauty, and none could adequately accomplish the task of picturing him as he was. The boulevards of the city were all deserted of promenaders, the whole

²¹⁵ RUBIERA MATA, María Jesūs (1987) *El príncipe hastiado, Huhammad ibn `Abdalmalik ibn Abi `Amir, efímero soberano de Orihuela y Murcia* In: Sharq Al-Andalus, N° 4, pp. 73-81

population being intent to pass the door of his house, which stood in the street running up from the little river, by the gate of my own residence on the eastern side of Cordova, and leading to the avenue adjoining the palace of al-Zahira; his house was in this avenue, quite close to mine. All, as I have said, thronged his door, for no other reason than simply to catch a glimpse of him. Many a slave-girl died of a broken heart on his account; infatuated by his charm, they would deck themselves out in all their finery to attract his fancy²¹⁶

²¹⁶ **HAZAM, Ibn** (994-1064). *The Ring of the Dove. A Treatise on the Art and Practice of Arab Love*. Translated by A.J. Arberry, Litt. D., F.B.B., London.

1021-1023 Yahya ibn Ali ibn Hammud al-Mu'tali

Yahya ibn Ali ibn Hammud al-Mu'tali; (died 1035) was Caliph of Cordoba in the Hammudid dynasty of the Al-Andalus from 1021 to 1023 and from 1025 to 1026. He was the son of Caliph Ali ibn Hammud, of Berber-Arab origins. He was governor of Ceuta from 1016, a title which he received from his father. After the latter's death he refused to recognize his uncle al-Qasim al-Ma'mun as caliph.



The orange seller (Frederick Arthur Bridgman)

After reaching Māлага he moved to Córdoba with a Berber army. Al-Qasim abandoned the city, taking refuge in Seville; Yahya reigned until 1023, when al-Qasim took back the throne. The latter was in turn ousted by the Umayyad party which raised Abd ar-Rahman V to the caliphate²¹⁷.

Historians are at variance respecting the appellation of this Sultān; some calling him Abū Is'hāk, others Abū Mohammed. His mother's name was Lebūnah, and she was the daughter of Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Ibn Al-kāsim, better known under the surname of Kanūn, who was the son of Ibrahim Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-kāsim, etc. This Al-hasan Ibn Kanūn was one of the greatest kings of the family of Hasan, and one of the bravest and most dreaded by his subjects. Yahya assumed the title of Khalif at Cordova in the year 413 (beginning April 15, A. D. 1022), as above related. After this he fled to Malaga, in the year 414, (beginning March 25, A. D. 1023)²¹⁸.

Tudmir

Khairan, the lord of Almeria who had conquered Orihuela between 1013 and 1014 and Murcia between 1016 and 1017, continued as ruler of Murcia with the help of his deputy Abulqasim Zuhair.

²¹⁷ **ALTAMIRA, Rafael** (1999) *Il califfato occidentale*. Storia del mondo medievale II. pp. 477–515

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²¹⁸ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tīb min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dīn Ibni-l-khattīb* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallarí; Translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume II, appendix. XII.

The first Murcian writer and traditionalist Mohamed Ibn as-Salam went to Cordoba to teach literature and tradition, and because of his fame earned the nickname Abuabdalé or the Literate of Todmir. He died fighting in intern fights in Cantix in 1009. However, we only know the name of the oldest poet of Murcia Abulkasim Ahmed Ibn aI-Fadal and the date of his death in 1021. We have more luck with the oldest grammarian, about whom many things are remembered because he was a notary famous person. He is Abulwalad Mohamed Ibn Miquel, a native of Murcia and student in his city and Córdoba. He established himself in Medina Mursiya until his death in 1044. He was a very good traditionalist and expert in the secrets of grammar and Lexicography, fundamental disciplines such as supplementary religious education, which had to be in Arabic to maintain the accuracy in interpretations. Good knowledge of the language through grammar and lexicon was indispensable for the right understanding of religion.

1023-1023 Al-Qasim al-Ma'mun ibn Hammud²¹⁹

Al-Qasim al-Ma'mun was caliph of Cordoba in Muslim Spain for two periods, 1018 to 1021, and again for a short time in 1023.



Arab warriors on horseback (Adolf Christian Schreyer)

Having assumed the title of Khalif, Yahya took upon the occasion the surname of Al-mu'tali, and remained in possession of the empire, until Al-kāsim, having re-established his influence, and regained the affections of the Berbers, marched with them to Cordova, and entered that capital in the year 413 (beginning April 5, A.D.1022), his nephew, Yahya Ibn 'Alí, betaking himself to Malaga. Al-kāsim remained some months at Cordova, during which time his authority was weakened and

²¹⁹ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tīb min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dīn Ibni-l-khattīb* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallari; Translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume II, appendix. XI-XII..

his empire subverted by his enemies. First, his nephew, Yahya, took Algesiras, which was Al-kāsim's strong-hold, and where he kept his women and his treasures. Then another nephew of his, named Idris Ibn 'Alí, took possession of Ceuta, close to Tangiers, a city which Al-kāsim always kept well garrisoned and provided with every warlike store, that he might retire to it in case he should be obliged to quit Andalus. Lastly, a portion of the inhabitants of Cordova having revolted against him, they shut the gates of the city, and prepared for the defence. Al-kāsim, who was master of the suburbs, besieged them for upwards of fifty days in the mosque of Abū 'Othmān, where they had fortified themselves, until, having made a sally, the Berbers took to flight, and abandoned the suburbs in Sha'bān of the year 414 (Oct. or Nov. A.D. 1023), each tribe of the Berbers betaking themselves to those towns whereof their brethren were the masters. As for Al-kāsim, he retired to Seville, where were his two sons, Mohammed and Al-hasan; but when the people of that place heard of his defeat, and of his quitting Cordova and coming to them, they shut the gates of their city, expelled his two sons as well as the Berbers who were with them, and appointed three of the principal and most illustrious inhabitants of the place to command over them, and administer the affairs of the community. These were the Kādī Abū-l-kāsim Mohammed Ibn Isma'il Ibn 'Abbād Al-lakhmī, Mohammed Ibn Al-alehānī, and Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-hasan Al-zubeydī, who held the government of Seville conjointly for some days, sharing among themselves the duties of the administration until the Kādī Abū-l-kāsim Ibn 'Abbād made himself sole ruler, and caused his former partners in power to resume the rank of subjects. In the mean time Al-kāsim had taken refuge in Sherish (Xerez), a city which remained faithful to him.

Tudmir

Khairan, the lord of Almeria who had conquered Orihuela between 1013 and 1014 and Murcia between 1016 and 1017, continued as ruler of Murcia with the help of his deputy Abulqasim Zuhair.

Alhama

The first documented references that appear on Alhama in Islamic texts are from the eleventh century and Alhama is cited as an “Iqlim” or agricultural district with a fiscal character under the denominations of Laqwār, B.laqwār o de Hāmma Bilquār. Broadly speaking, this place would coincide with the current town of Alhama de Murcia. There is even a valuable description of its spas²²⁰.

²²⁰ **IBN HAYYAN** (1937) *Kitāb Al-Muqtabis fī ta'rīj riḡāl al-Andalus*. Partial edition by R.P.M. MARTÍNEZ ANTUÑA: Chronique du règne du calife umayyade `Abd Allah à Cordoue. Chronicle of the Umayyad expedition to lands of Murcia around the year 896, Paris, p. 116-117

AL-UDRI (1965) *Tarsī al-ajbār*. Ed. de AL-AHWADI, Madrid, 1965. Traducción parcial al español de MOLINA LOPEZ, EMILIO (1972): La Cora de Tudmīr segūn Al-`Udrī (s. XI). Aportaciones al estudio geográfico-descriptivo del SE peninsular. Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, 4. Granada, pp. 73-75

AL-MARRÁKUSĪ, Abū Muhammad `Abd al-Wāhid: *Kitāb al-Mu`yib fī taljīs ajbār al-Magrib*. Trad. HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio (1955): Colección de Crónicas Árabes de la Reconquista, vol. IV. Tetuán, pp. 201-202

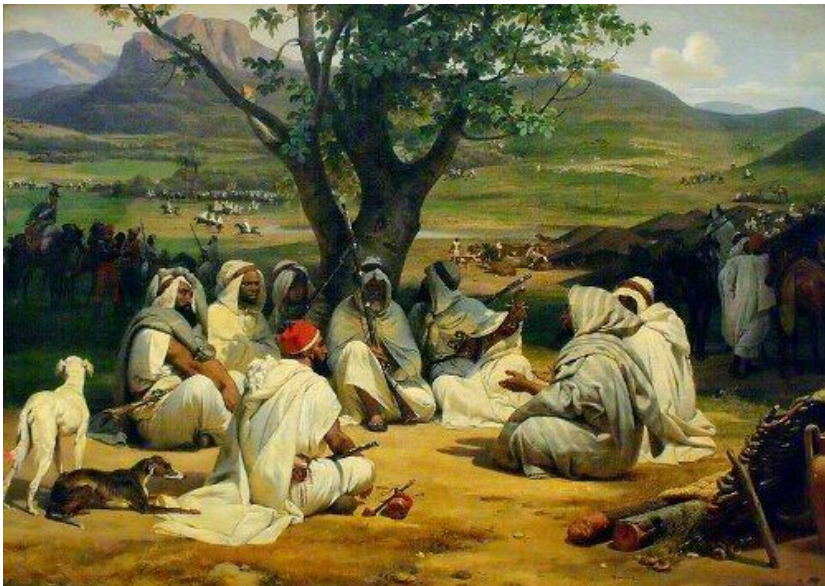
VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín (1972) *La división territorial en la España Musulmana (II)*. La Cora de Tudmīr (Murcia). Al-Andalus, vol. XXXVII, fasc. 1. Madrid-Granada, p. 145 a 189, cited on p. 177

AL-QAZWĪNĪ (1848) *Kitāb aḡa'ib al-magluḡāt*. Ed. WÜSTEN-FELD, F. Kosmographie, II. Gotinga-Dieterische. Trad.: ROLDÁN CASTRO, Fátima (1992): El Oriente de Al-Andalus en el Atar Bilād de al-Qazwīnī, Sharq Al-Andalus, 9. Alicante, p. 29 a 46, cited on pp. 35-36

Cited by **RAMÍREZ ÁGUILA, Juan Antonio & BAÑOS SERRANO, José** (2004) *Estudio descriptivo de Alhama de Murcia*. In: La Revista electrónica de Arqueología de la Región de Murcia, Nº. 2, Julio

1023-1024 Abd ar-Rahman V

Abd ar-Rahman V was an Umayyad Caliph of Córdoba. In the agony of the Umayyad dynasty in the Al-Andalus, two princes of the house were proclaimed Caliph of Cordoba for a very short time, Abd-ar-Rahman IV Mortada (1017), and Abd-ar-Rahman V. Mostadir (1023–1024). Both were the mere puppets of factions, who deserted them at once. Abd-ar-Rahman IV was murdered the same year he was proclaimed at Cadiz, in flight from a battle in which he had been deserted by his supporters. Abd-ar-Rahman V was proclaimed caliph in December 1023 at Córdoba, and murdered in January 1024 by a mob of unemployed workmen, headed by one of his own cousins²²¹.



Meeting (Emile Jean Horace Vernet)

²²¹ **ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA** (1911), Volume I, pp. 31-32.

When, in the year 414, Al-kāsim and the Berbers were defeated by the inhabitants of Cordova, and obliged to quit that capital, as above related, the people held counsel together, and decided upon restoring the empire to the Beni Umeyyah. There were three descendants of that family residing in that capital at the time, namely: 'Abdu-r-rahmān, son of Hishām Ibn 'Abdi-l-jabbār Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmān An-nāsir, who was the brother of Mohammed Al-muhdi, former Sultān of Cordova; Suleymān, son of the above-mentioned Al-murtadhi, who was killed in the territory of Granada; and Mohammed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmān, son of Hishām Ibn Suleymān, he who rose against Al-muhdi Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmān An-nāsir. The empire devolved upon 'Abdu-r-rahmān, who numbered the most votes; and he was, accordingly, proclaimed Khalif on the thirteenth day of Ramadhān of the year 414 (28th November, A.D.). 1023), at the age of twenty-two, having been born in the month of Dhī-l-ka'dah of the year 392 (September or October, A. D. 1002). His mother's name was Ghāyah. He used the appellative Abū-l-motref, and on his accession to power took the honorary surname of Al-mustadh'her (he who implores the assistance of God). His reign, however, was not of long duration; for he had been but a short time in power, when Abū 'Abdi-r-rahmān Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmān Ibn 'Obeydillah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmān An-nāsir revolted against him, with a party composed of the dregs of the population, and he was put to death three days before the end of Dhī-l-ka'dah of the same year 414 (10th February, A.D.). 1024). 'Abdu-r-rahmān left no posterity. He was exceedingly fond of letters, very eloquent, and could write verses in a very tender strain. It is so stated by our master Abū Mohammed 'Alī Ibn Ahmed, who lived in his time, and was well acquainted with him²²².

²²² **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARĪ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tīb min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dīn Ibnī-l-khattīb* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallarī; Translated from the copies in the

Tudmir

Khairan, the lord of Almeria who had conquered Orihuela between 1013 and 1014 and Murcia between 1016 and 1017, continued as ruler of Murcia with the help of his deputy Abulqasim Zuhair.

Ahmed Ibn al-Fadal

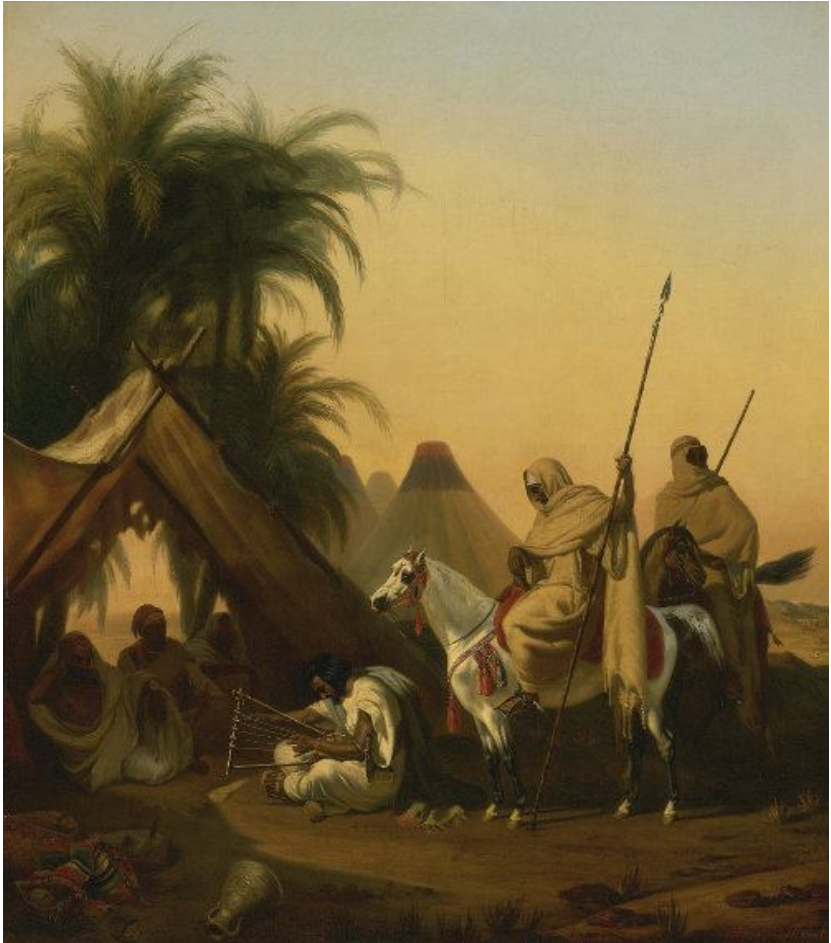
The most ancient poet of Murcia was Ahmed Ibn al-Fadal. We only know his name and date of death - 1021²²³.

Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume II, appendix. XII-XIII.

²²³ **GARCÍA ANTÓN, José** (1980) *Le Región de Murcia en tiempos del Islam*. In: Historia de la Región Murciana, Volume III, p. 270

1024-1025 Muhammad II of Cordoba

Muhammad bin ‘Abd ar-Rahman bin ‘Obayd Allah, known as Muhammad III was an Umayyad Caliph of Cordoba in the Al-Andalus. He ruled after the death of Abd ar-Rahman V from 1024 to 1025.



**Arabs listening Music
Emile Jean Horace Vernet**

Yahya ibn Ali ibn Hammud al-Mu'tali continued in Māлага, until in the year 416 (beginning March 3, A. D. 1025) some ill-intentioned people attempted to re-establish his authority in Cordova, and succeeded in their undertaking, appointing a descendant of the house of Umeyyah to be their ruler. Yahya, however, continued going to and from with his army, and laying waste the country, until the greater part of the Berbers agreed to acknowledge his authority, and gave him possession of the fortresses, castles, and cities which they held in their hands. 'Abdu-r-rahmān was succeeded, as above related, by Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmān, who was forty-eight years of age at the time he took possession of the throne, having been born in the year 366 (beginning Aug. 29, A.D. 976). His appellative was Abiū 'Abdi-r-rahmān, and his mother's name Haurā. His father, 'Abdu-r-rahmān, had been put to death by Mohammed Ibn Abí 'A'mir, at the beginning of the reign of Hishām Al-muyyed, under the pretence that he was planning a revolt for the purpose of seizing on the empire. This Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmān took the surname of Al-mustakfī, and governed for sixteen months and some days, until he was deposed in the year 415, the empire returning to the family of Yahya Ibn 'Alí Al-hasaní. Al-mustakfī was compelled to leave his capital in disguise, and take refuge in the Thagher. They say that when he reached a town called Shamunt, in the district of Medinaceli, he sat down to take some food. There happened to be with him at the time a man named 'Abdu-r-rahmān Ibn Mohammed Ibn As-selīm, of the posterity of Sa'id Ibn Al-mundhir, the celebrated rebel who rose during the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmān An-nāsir. This man, being tired of wandering about in Al-mustakfī's company, decided to get rid of him. He took some poisonous herbs, which are very plentiful in that part of the country, and dressed him a fowl with them. No sooner had Al-mustakfī partaken of it than he died; when the

man dug a hole, and buried him on the spot. His reign was one of continued troubles and agitation. He left no posterity²²⁴.

Tudmir

Khairan, the lord of Almeria who had conquered Orihuela between 1013 and 1014 and Murcia between 1016 and 1017, continued as ruler of Murcia with the help of his deputy Abulqasim Zuhair.

²²⁴ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dín Ibni-l-khattīb* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallarí; Translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume II, appendix. XII-XIV.

1025-1026 Yahya ibn Ali ibn Hammud al-Mu'tali

When Yahya heard that his uncle Al-Kasim al-Ma'mun ibn Hammud was in Xerez, he marched in pursuit of him and arrived before Xerez, which he besieged. Al-Kāsim defended himself valiantly for some time; but at last the Berbers who composed the garrison, being tired of the siege, held a council together, and decided upon deserting his cause and delivering him into the hands of his nephew, which they did; Yahya becoming thereby the sole ruler of the empire, and the only chief of the Berbers. Al-Kāsim remained a prisoner in the hands of Yahya²²⁵.

In 1025 he mustered another army to march on Córdoba where caliph Muhammad III, after news of the upcoming attack arrived, fled to Zaragoza. The Córdoba aristocracy created a council to govern the city in absence of a caliph; after some six months, however, they appealed to Yahya to enter the city and assume the title of caliph. He arrived on 9 November 1025; after a few days he left the government in the hands of his vizier Abu Ja'far Ahmad ben Mūsā while he returned to his secure stronghold of Málaga. -However, soon were the inhabitants of Cordoba disgusted about the African domination. Khairan of Almeria and Murcia as well as Mochéhid of Denia offered to come to their aid against their rulers. The riots which ensued in Córdoba caused the final end of the Hammudid dynasty. Khairan could not come to any arrangement with Mochéhid y with the nobles of Cordoba when they tried to form another government. Therefore, he returned

²²⁵ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dín Ibni-l-khattib* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallari; Translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume II, appendix. XI-XII..

to his states. In June 1026 the people expelled Yahya's vizier and elected the last caliph, the Umayyad Hisham III. After his definitive expulsion from Córdoba, Yahya created the independent taifa (kingdom) of Málaga, which he ruled until his death in 1035.



The Perfum maker (Rudolf Ernst)

Tudmir

Khairan, the lord of Almeria who had conquered Orihuela between 1013 and 1014 and Murcia between 1016 and 1017, continued as ruler of Murcia with the help of his deputy Abulqasim Zuhair.

Khairan was politically immersed in many conflicts with neighbouring kingdoms and tried to extend his dominions by annexing the nearest territories such as Jaen and Valencia.

1025-1026 Hisham III of Cordoba

When, in the year 417 (beginning Feb. 21, A. D. 1026), Yahya Ibn 'Alí Al-hasaní was deprived of his power by a rebellion in Cordova, the people of that city agreed to restore the empire to the Bení Umeyyah. Their chief counsellor and support on this occasion was the Wizír Abū-l-hazm Jehwar Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mohammed Ibn Jehwar Ibn 'Obeydillah Ibn Mohammed Ibn Al-ghamr Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Abdi-l-ghāfir Ibn Abí 'Abdah. As all those who might have claimed a right to the empire, as descendants of that illustrious family, had either disappeared during the civil wars in Cordova, or were hid in the provinces, Jehwar and his friends wrote to the govemors of the frontiers, and to all those who had usurped the royal authority in the provinces, acquainting them with their determination, and exhorting them to look out for the relics of the Beni Umeyyah, and to point out one who might fill the throne and restore it to its pristine glory and splendour. The people in the province: agreed to this plan; and, after some time spent in searching for the princes of the house of Umeyyah, a great-grandson of 'Abdu-r-rahmān An-nāsir, named Abri Bekr Hishām Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmān An-nāsir, was raised to the supreme power. They say that Hishām, who was a brother of Al-murtadhi, he who rose during the empire of 'Alí Ibn Hamūd, was residing at Al-bount (Alpuente), under the protection of Abu 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Kāsim, a noble chieftain, who had taken possession of that fortress.

Immediately after his election, Hishām was proclaimed Khalif, and received the oath of allegiance of the people of Cordova in the month of Rabi' 1. of the year 418 (April or May, A.D. 1027). He took on this occasion the sumame of Al-mu'tadd-billah (he who is prepared in God). He was born in the year 364 (beginning Sept. 20, A.D. 974), and was Al-murtadhi's elder by four years. His mother's name was 'A'tita. The new

Sultān, however, did not then enter Cordova, but remained in the *Thaghers*, where serious disturbances had arisen, the different chiefs and governors there waging war with each



The guard (Rudolf Ernst)

other. At last, after going backwards and forwards for three years all but two months, Hishām succeeded in adjusting their differences and quelling their dissensions; and he was thereby enabled to repair to Cordova, the capital of the empire, which he entered on the day of *Mina*, being the eighth day of Dhī-l-hajjah of the year 420 (17th Dec., A.D.). 1029)²²⁶.

Hisham III was the last Umayyad ruler in the Al-Andalus (1026–1031), and the last person to hold the title Caliph of Cordoba. Hisham III, the brother of Abd ar-Rahman IV, was chosen as Caliph after long negotiations between the governors of the border regions and the people of Cordoba. He could not enter Cordoba until 1029 as the city was occupied by the Berber armies of the Hammudids.

Although he tried to consolidate the Caliphate, the raising of taxes (to pay for mosques amongst other things) led to heavy opposition from the Muslim clerics. After the murder of his Visir al-Hakam by a conspiracy of Cordoban Patricians, Hisham was imprisoned. He managed to escape, but died in exile in 1036 in Lerida. After the Caliphate fell with the overthrow of Hisham III in 1031, the Caliphate's land holdings — already much diminished from its height in power just 100 years past — devolved into a number of militarily weak but culturally advanced taifas.

²²⁶ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dín Ibni-l-khattib* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallari; Translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume II, appendix. XI-XII..

Tudmir

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1026-1091
FIRST TAIFAS OF
MURCIA

1025-1028 Khayran al-‘A’miri²²⁷

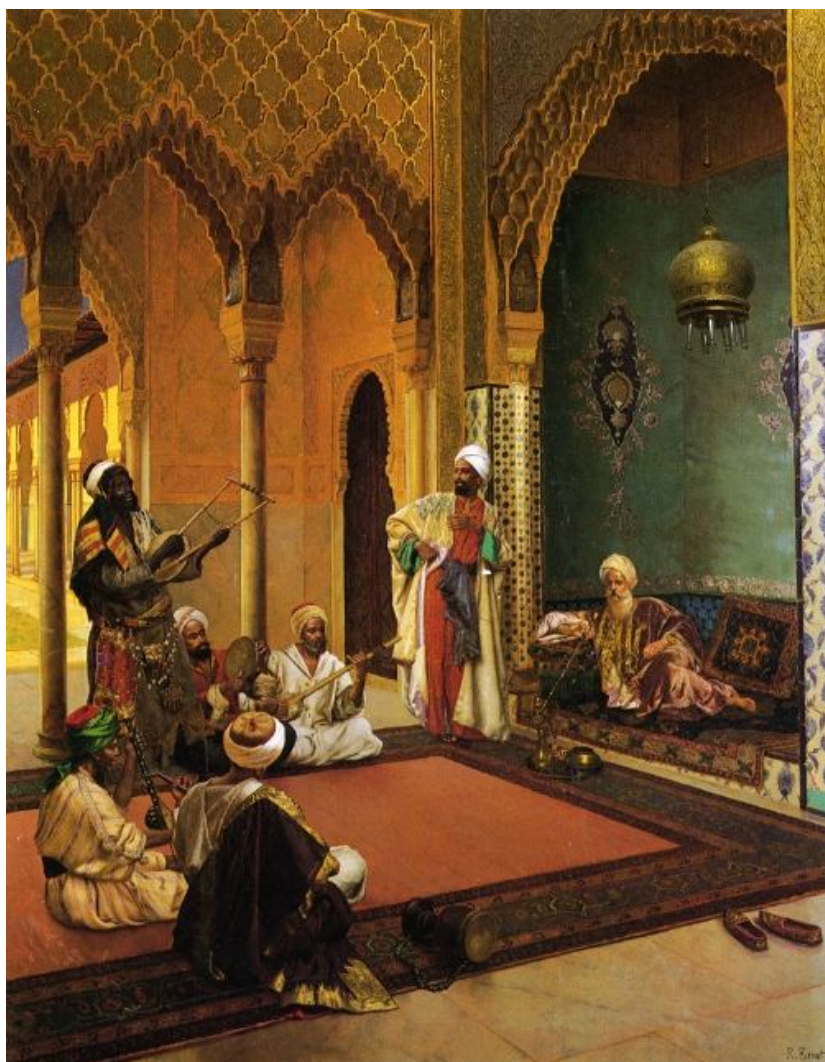
Since the commencement of the civil war many governors had asserted their independence, and the capture of Cordova by the Berbers struck a final blow at the unity of the Empire. The Slav generals took possession of the larger towns in the east; the Berber chieftains, to whom the ‘Amirids had given fiefs or provinces to govern, also enjoyed complete independence; and the few Arab families that were still powerful enough to assert their rights ignored the new Khalif, whose authority was therefore limited to five considerable cities: Cordova, Seville, Niebla, Oksonoba, and Beja²²⁸.

Tudmir

During the first phase of the Slavic taifas Murcia depended on Khayran, the Slavic prince of Almería, one of the leaders of these groups of freemen of European origin who managed to seize power in the cities of the Mediterranean coast from Almeria to Tortosa on the fall of the caliphate of Cordoba. Apparently the Berber Umayyad army mercenaries who were to create the Andalusian Taifa had initially released a few riots to Todmir and Khayran had intervened to expel them, establishing his authority recognized in the region. He even went to Murcia, where for some time he tried to proclaim the sovereignty of an Amirid, grandson of the great al-Mansur, to contrast him with another member of the same family that the Slavs of the region of Valencia and Xativa had proclaimed in the latter city. But soon he became angry with him and threw him off his

²²⁷Khayran could have been a ruler of the Taifa Kingdom of Almería between 1014-1028. Cfr. **ARVIDE CAMBRA, Luisa María** (2015) *The Splendor of Almería in the Eleventh Century During the Periods of the Muluk Al-Tawa'if (Kings of Taifas)*. In: European Scientific Journal, February, edition vol. 1, pp. 358-362

²²⁸ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, p. 570



Musicians (Rudolf Ernst)

states²²⁹. Shortly thereafter Khairan [or Khayran?] died and in 1028 his deputy Abulqasim Zuhair now had all the power and settled in Almeria.

That time Khayran must have been a very important person because Ibn Darradj al-Qastalli (958-1030) dedicated a poem to him. The poem has been translated by Fetah Chenni and Pierre Joris. Part of it follows²³⁰:

Ode in praise of Khairan al-‘Amiri, emir of Almería

In the folds of the stranger's rags
 many strange things are hidden
things that have long before settled
 in the depths of this hurt heart
kindling an old fire darkens
 night despite its blaze-
if the sea should dry up in the heat
 he'll fill it again with disconsolate tears
and when the sea winds die down
 low moans remind us of those we love.....

²²⁹ **GUICHARD, Pierre** (1980) *Murcia Musulmana (siglos IX al XIII)*. In. Historia de la Región Murciana, Volume III, p. 164

²³⁰ **JORIS, Pierre** (2012) *Poems for the Millennium*, Volume Four: The University of California Book of North African Literature. Edited and with commentaries by Pierre Joris, Habib Tengour, p. 52



Land and Maritime Routes

1028-1038 Zahayr al-‘A’miri

Tudmir

Kasim, Governor of Algeciras, loved peace and repose and he conferred to the Slavs, Zahayr (Zohair) lord of Murcia, the fiefs of Jaen, Calatrava, and Baeza. After that Murcia became, like the majority of the great towns of the Peninsula, the capital of a little independent state.

Kāsim’s orthodoxy, however, was not above suspicion: it was whispered that he was a Shi‘ite. But whatever his real opinions may have been, he never tried to impose them on others; he never even spoke of them, and did not meddle with ecclesiastical affairs. Thanks to this prince’s moderation the Hammudite dynasty seemed likely to endure²³¹.

Almeria came under the control of Zuhair (Zohair), a Slav commander. His influence extended as far as Jativa, the second city in the A’mal of Valencia. Zuhair mistrusting the Arraez of Murcia Abu Amir ibn Khattab dismissed him and sent him to exile in Almeria. Then Zuhair appointed another prominent Murcian citizen Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Tahir, an enemy of ibn Khattab of Murcia. This family would continue to control Murcia until the end of the taifa period. Relatives of Ibn Khattab continued to live in Murcia. They participated in the cultural life of the period. Mūsā ibn Khattab and his son Abd al-Aziz were among the best canon lawyers of the first half of the eleventh century. Their family was very wealthy and descended from the Umayyad client of eastern origin who was married to

²³¹ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, p. 570.

BRUCE, Travis (2010). *The Taifa of Denia and the Medieval Mediterranean*. A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of The Graduate College in partial fulfillment for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Department of History. Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, p. 309

the daughter of Theodomir. Zahair and died during a battle in 1038.

Ibn Sidah al-Mursi

The hafiz Abū 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ismail, surnamed Ibn Sida, and a native of Murcia²³² was highly distinguished by his learning in philology and grammar, and by his acquisitions in portions of these sciences preserved by oral transmission. On this matter he composed some works, one of which - the *Muhkam (fixes)* - is a dictionary of 28 volumes and contains information on the various branches of philology. Another extensive work of his on the same subject is titled *Kitab al-Mukhassis*²³³ (the specifier). In it he dedicated a chapter to 'food that is bad for children'. Some chapters in the first part are dealing with human beings and the things that concern them - clothes, food, sleep, weapons, and fighting²³⁴.

With respect to the *Kitab al-Mukhassis* Manuela Cortés gives us the following information²³⁵:

As a so far located primary source we have the first dictionary dated from the stage of the Taifa Kingdoms, a work of Murcian lexicographer Ibn Sida (Murcia, 1007-Denia, 1066), known as "The blind man from Murcia" and author of *Kitab al-Mujassas* (Treaty of

²³² Kitâb al-Sila, ed. Codera y Ribera. Bibl. Arab. – Hisp., I-II, N° 889, p. 40. Cited by **CANELAS RODRÍGUEZ, Darió** (1986) *Ibn Sida de Murcia*. El mayor lexicógrafo de Al-Andalus, p. 34

²³³ **SERRANO-NIZA, Dolores** (2005) Glosario árabe español de indumentaria según el Kitab al-Mujassas de Ibn Sidah. Editorial: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas

²³⁴ **HAYWOOD, JOHN A.** (1965) *Arabic Lexicography: Its History and its Place in the General History of Lexicography*, Leiden, p. 114

²³⁵ **CORTÉS, Manuela** (2008) *Tratados Musicales andalusíes de la escuela Levantina y aportaciones al marco interdisciplinar (ss. XI-XIII)*. In: Itamar. Revista de investigación musical: territorios para el arte. Univesidad de Valecia, pp. 159-182. Citation on p. 167

specialized terms). This codex, of which a manuscript copy is preserved as part of the funds of the Library of Escorial and dated from 1166, was carried out to the requirements and under the patronage of the Emir of Taiga of Denia Iqbal al-Dawla (1047-1076). The manuscript is considered the first lexicographical dictionary written in al-Andalus which includes volumes II and XI, twenty voices referring to music (*al-musiqà*), singing (*al-gina'*), voice (*al-sawt*), Elf (*al-tarab*), dancing (*al-raqs*), games (*al-la'aib*), and instruments (*al-alat al-musiqà*) among other things, accompanied by extensive references to their structure and characteristics.

He also composed a commentary in six volumes on the *Hamasa*, entitled *Kitāb al-Anik*, and a number of other instructive treatises. Ibn Sida was a blind man, like his father; he made his first studies in philology under his father who was well versed in that science, and he then received lessons from Said al-Baghdādi and Ali Ibn Omar al-Talamanki²³⁶. The latter reverts²³⁷ to this circumstance in the following anecdote:

“When I went to Murcia, the inhabitants requested me most earnestly to explain the *Gharīb al-Mūsānnaf*, to which I told them to look for a person to read the book to them, and that I would follow him in my copy of it. On this they brought me a blind man called Ibn Sida who repeated its contents from the beginning to the end, and I was much struck by the excellence of his memory²³⁸.”

²³⁶ Al-Talamankî al-Muqri' was born in 340/951 and died in the month of dû l-hiyya 428/1036 or 429/1037. The *nisba* al-Talamankî reflects its birthplace, Talamanca, a village of the present province of Madrid. Cf. **FIERRO, Maribel** (1992) *El proceso contra Abû 'Umar al-Talamankî a través de su vida y de su obra*. In: Sharq al-Andalus, N° 9, pp. 93-127

²³⁷ Also Yâgût (d. 626/1229) refers to these circumstances: Yâgût, *Mu'gam* IV, 1649; cf. Ibn Hillikân, *Wafayât* III, 330. Cited by **BAALBAKI, Ramzi** (2014) *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition from the 2nd/8th to the 12th/18th Century*, p. 277

²³⁸ **CODERA, F.** (1883) *Kitâb al-Sila*, ed. F. Codera en *Bibl. Arab. Hispana*, I-II (Madrid 1883), N° 889, pp. 410-411

Ibn Sida possessed considerable abilities as a poet. He died at Denia on Sunday evening, the 25th of the latter Rabi, A. H. 458 (March, A. D. 1066), at the age of about sixty years. I read on the cover of a copy of the *Muhkam* a note written by some learned native of Spain, in which it is said that Ibn Sida was in good health previously to the morning prayer of the Friday (before his death), and that he continued so till the hour of evening prayer, when he entered the water-closet and came out with his tongue paralyzed, and unable to utter a word; he remained in that state till the afternoon of the Sunday above mentioned, when he died. Some place his death in the year 448 (A. D. 1056), but the former date is, more authentic and is generally admitted²³⁹.

Among the biographies of Ibn Sida there is another one that is more extensive and gathers all data offered in all other biographies. Ibn Baskuwâl writes²⁴⁰:

"Alí ibn Ismâ'il, known to Ibn Sida, and kunya Abü-l-Hasan, of the people of Murcia. He studied with his father Abû 'Umar al-Talamankî, Sâ'id the philologist, and others. He wrote very beautiful works, among which the most known are *Kitâb al-Muhkam fî-l-luga*, the *Mujassas*, and *Kitâb al-Anîq fî sarh al-Hamâsa*. Al-Wâqasî says that 'Umar al-Talamankî meant the following: I entered Murcia and its inhabitants were besieging me to hear the explanation of the Garîb al-Musannaf. Then I told them: "Look for someone to read it and I will explain." They brought a blind man, known as Ibn Sida, who 'read' it to all concurrent, causing me to wonder about this happy memory, because he was blind and the son of a blind man. Al-Humaydî says about him: "He is an excellent teacher of grammar and philology and despite his blindness he composed a work of great extent on these matters, apart from moving with freedom and luck in the field of poetry." He died after my departure from al-Andalus, around 460 [= 1067-1068], although the Qadi Sâ'id ibn Ahmad says

²³⁹ **IBN KHALLIKAN** (1845). *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, Volume 2, pp 273-274.

²⁴⁰ **CABANELAS RODRÍGUEZ, Darío** (1961). *El Mujassas de Ibn Sîda de Murcia, primer diccionario de ideas afines en el Occidente musulman*. In: *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos (MEAH)*, N°. 10, pp. 7-36.

that he died in 458 [= 1065-1066] at sixty years of age or close to that.

Meanwhile Sa'id of Toledo, author of *Kitab tabaqat al-umam* or "Book of the categories of nations", reveals another interesting facet of the Blind from Murcia in the following biography²⁴¹:

[Among the scholars who cultivated the logic] we will also quote Abû-l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Isma'îl ibn Sîda, the Blind, whose father was also blind. He devoted a long time to the study of the various parts of logic and wrote an important and extensive work about this discipline, in which he followed the method of Mattâ ibn Yûnus. Apart from this Ibn Sida was the wisest among all the inhabitants of al-Andalus in Arabic grammar, philology, and poetry, and possessed the most extensive knowledge of these matters, some of whose treatises he knew by heart, such as *Garîbal-Musannaf* and the *Islâh al-Mantiq*. He wrote books of great value, such as *Kitab al-Muhkam wa-l-Muhîr al-A'sam*, in alphabetical order; the *Kitab al-Mujassas*, divided into chapters like *Garîb al-Mu-sannaf*; the commentary of the *Islâh al-Mantiq*, the one of *Hamâsa* and others. He died (God have mercy on him!) in 458 [= 1065-1066], at about sixty years of age.

Here is a tight relationship of the teachers of Ibn Sids in his poem²⁴²:

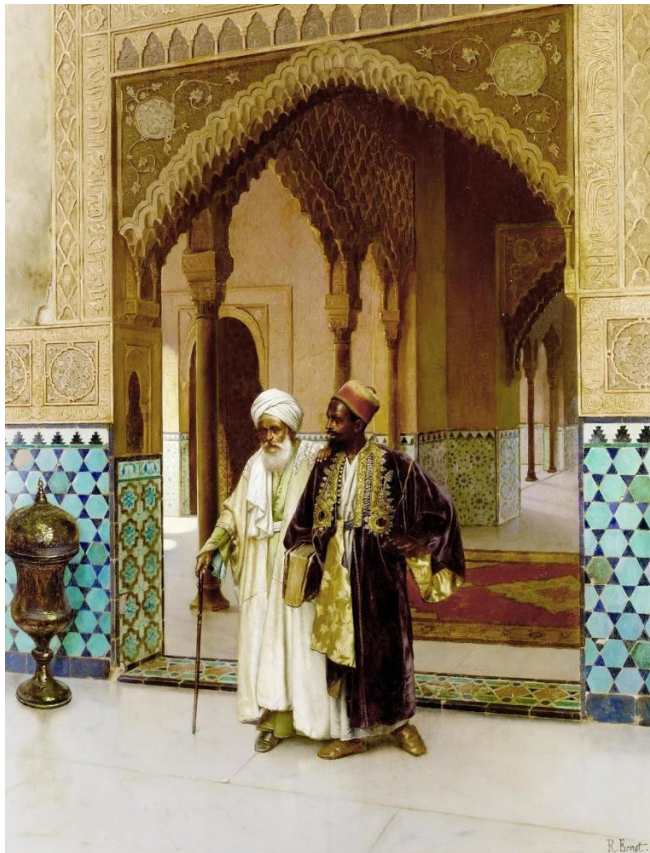
At four years I already read the Koran,
and I could already recite it by memory at six years of age.
But when thinking I was endowed with reflection,
I examined the principles of hermeneutics,
I took advantage of every wise in this field,
and continued expanding my education:
I did not forget about that of Ibn 'Abbâs,

²⁴¹ **CABANELAS RODRÍGUEZ, Darío** (1961). El Mujassas de Ibn Sîda de Murcia, primer diccionario de ideas afines en el Occidente musulman. In: Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos (MEAH), N°. 10, pp. 7-36.

²⁴² The 25 verses that comprise this passage appear published in: Al-Masrig, XXXVI, pp. 190-191. Cited by **CABANELAS RODRÍGUEZ, Darío** (1983) Ibn Sida of Murcia. The greatest lexicographer of Al-Andalus. Textos de Alcance 15. Editora Regional de Murcia, page 44

or the science of Ibn Sallâm,
 or the book of al-Humaydi,
 but I recorded everything in my memory.
 When my faculties reached their force,
 I studied the production of the great masters:
 the penetrating works of Abû Ishâq
 that clarify the ambiguities of the Koran;
 the traditions I learned from
 the faqîh Ahmad al-Talamankî,
 from whom I also heard the *al-Muwatta'*
 greedily without any apathy;
 the priceless collection of bujârî,
 which completed my knowledge of traditions;
 and finally the writings of Abû 'Ubayd,
 which always shine together in my collar.
 Then I analyzed the *Kitâb* by Sibawayh
 - Root of knowledge if it's understood -
 under the direction of master Abû 'Utmân,
 capable man with unmatched sharpness.
 Later I heard from the wise Abû-l-'Aâ'
 of books called *Sifât* and *Asmâ'*,
 and the entitled *Garîb and Islâb*,
 permeating its intimate significance;
 he then explained the *Kitâb al alfaz* to me,
 which I memorized as *buffâz*;
 he finally taught me metaphor treatises
 - based on the rules of al-Sirâzi - ,
 thereafter Ahmad had already shown me them,
 the intelligent and wise faqîh.
 Then I read the works of al-Rummâni,
 al-Farisi and his son 'Uthman,
 that is to say Ibn jinni, who was like a son to him
 - even though his father was al-Hasan -
 because he was the one that actually taught and instructed him,
 and a man like that is also called father.
 This kind of affiliation deceives people,

that likewise assumes that God is fatherhood.
 Praise be to Him, the One, the Just One, the Eternal,
 "Who took no partner or son"!
 I retained all philological books in my memory,
 and learned the verses contained therein.
 Finally I set myself in the rules of logic,
 Since the one who seeks the truth must know them.



After praying (Rudolf Ernst)

In *Anal* II on p. 258 a distich from a *madih* addressed to Ibn al-Muwaffaq is quoted:

1. Will it be possible to kiss your right hand, thus attaining security and good fortune?
2. Can one in this noon heat hope to sleep, protected by you, one whose heart burns with love and whose eye is sleepless?

In *Anal.*, II, p. 433, nine more verses are quoted; they are clever, but uninspired on words. As indicated earlier, Ibn Sida died in 458/1065, sixty years old²⁴³.

Eight of the 28 Volumes of this particular copy of a1- Muhkam fi 'l-lugha, a dictionary compiled by the eleventh century Andalusian scholar Ibn Sida, are preserved in two different libraries in Morocco²⁴⁴. Volumes 17-20 are preserved in the Bibliotheque Générale et Archives, Rabat under the number Q 75, while Volumes 21, 22, 27 and 28 are preserved in the library of al-Qarawiyyîn Mosque, Fez under the number 4° lâmhâ'/534.

Copies of the *Muhkam* were made in Timbuktu. Timbuktu soared to pre-eminence in Sudan and became known in other parts of the Muslim world, producing many respected scholars. The Songhay Empire was a remarkable West African state, flourishing in several areas including territorial and trade expansion, development of a strong military and centralized government, unprecedented support for learning and scholarship, and skilful relations with the greater Sudanic and Islamic lands. Songhay arose out of the remains of the Mali Empire under the rule of Sonni Ali ca. 1464. Yet it was the empire's second ruler, Askiya Muhammad, who initiated the century-long golden age of peace and stability, bringing

²⁴³ **NYKL, Alois Richard** (1946). Hispano-arabic poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours.

²⁴⁴ **HUNWICK, John O.** (2002). West African Arabic manuscript colophons: II: A sixteenth-century Timbuktu copy of the Muhkam of Ibn Sida. In: Sudanic Africa, Vol. 13, pp. 131-152.

Songhay to its zenith. This era was particularly fruitful for the cities of Gao, Timbuktu, and Jenne, the empire's administrative, scholarly, and trade centers²⁴⁵.

There are only two manuscripts of the work *Mujassas* (*Mukhassas*); a complete one exists in Cairo and an incomplete one in El Escorial (Madrid). The incomplete one has the two latest parts of seventeen.

It is quite interesting to see in the *Mujassas* that in the 11th century they produced liquors from dates, grapes, and figs²⁴⁶.

Abû Muhammad

‘Abd Allâh b. Sahl b. Yûsuf al-Ansârî al-Muqri, Abû Muhammad (d. 480/1087) from Murcia studied with al-Talamanki and also with Abû ‘Amr al-Dânî and Makkî b. Abî Tâlib²⁴⁷.

²⁴⁵ SINGLETON, Brent (2004) *Rulers, Scholars, and Invaders: A Select Bibliography of the Songhay Empire*. In: *History in Africa*, Vol. 31, pp. 357-368

SINGLETON, Brent (2004) *African Bibliophiles: Books and Libraries in Medieval Timbuktu*. In: *Libraries & Culture*, Vol. 39, Nº. 1, pp. 1-12

²⁴⁶ IBN SIDA (1316/1898) *Kitâb al-Muj*, Ed. Muhammad ‘Abduh, 17 vols., *Bûlâq – 1321/1903* (= *Ibn Sîdah, al-Muhassas*, 5 vols., Beyrut, without date; it deals with a reproduction facsimile of the Bûlâq’s edition. The volumes X and XI are within the volume III. Cited by MUÑOZ, Rafael (1994) *El léxico agrícola y alimentario en el Mujassas de Ibn Sîda*. In: *Ciencias de la naturaleza en Al-Andalus III. Textos y estudios editados por E. García Sánchez*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Escuela de Estudios Árabes, Granada, pp. 121-142. Citation on p. 122

²⁴⁷ FIERRO, Maribel (1992) *El proceso contra Abû ‘Umar al-Talamankî a través de su vida y de su obra*. In: *Sharq al-Andalus*, Nº. 9, pp. 93-127. Citation on p. 105

Ibn Bilal Abu-l-‘Abbas

His full name was Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Bilāl al-Mursī (d. about 460/1067-1068). Apparently he came from Murcia and died in 1067-8. He was a grammarian, writer, and lexicologist. He is the author of two works. In the Valencian court Ibn Bilāl was preceptor of the (amirī al-Muzaffar Abd al-Malik)²⁴⁸. More information can be found in the article by Gonzalez A. Carmona, volume 2 of the “Biblioteca de al-Andalus²⁴⁹”.

Abî Zayd al-Lawâtî

Aḥmad b. Ibrâhîm b. Abî Zayd al-Lawâtî, from Murcia (d. 423/1031) was a pupil of al-Talamanki and studied with Abû l-Wâlid al-Bâyî²⁵⁰.

Aḥmad Ben Addelmalek Abu Amer, vulgar Ben Schaid

He was born in Murcia in the year of the Hegira 382, son of an illustrious and ancient family; was an incomparable poet and an excellent doctor. He wrote the book *Aromataria Officina* which contains several verses and rhetorical descriptions. He died in Córdoba in the Hegira year 426, or 1034 in the Christian calendar, the 30th of the month Gimadi first²⁵¹.

²⁴⁸ PEÑA, Salvador (1991) *Gramáticos en Al-Andalus: de Ibn Sidah al-Mursî a Ibn al-Batalyawsî*. In: Sharq al-Andalus, N°. 8, pp. 43-53. Citation on p. 49

²⁴⁹ Vol. 2: de Ibn Adha a Ibn Busra

²⁵⁰ FIERRO, Maribel (1992) *El proceso contra Abû ‘Umar al-Talamankî a través de su vida y de su obra*. In: Sharq al-Andalus, N°. 9, pp. 93-127. Citation on p. 106

²⁵¹ CASIRI, Michael (1860-1870) *Biblioteca Arabico-Hispana Ecurialensis*. (Bib. Arab. Hisp.) II, p. 135

Lorca

Abu Omar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Afif, a native of Cordova, was distinguished for his learning, profound piety, and skill in drawing up bonds and contracts. He is the author of a work in five volumes destined as a guide for students (*fī adab al-mutaalimim*), and a history of jurisconsults, occasionally cited by Ibn Bashkuwāl. Removed from Cordova to Almeria, he was appointed *kadi* of Lorca, and died there (420/1029) in the month of the second Rabi²⁵².

Abû l-Qâsim

‘Alî b. ‘Umar al-Zuhrî, Abû l-Qâsim, from Lorca, where he served as Qadi. He studied with al-Talamankî and was a pupil of Abû ‘Amr al-Dânî²⁵³.

Buqasra near to Cehegín

Sayyid al-Habib ben Yudami, an ascetic of great prestige, was in charge of the funeral sermon Abu Umar ben 'Afif in Lorca in 1029. Ibn al-Abbar says of this persona:

He lived in Buqasra belonging to the 'amal of Murcia (min ahl Buqasra' amal Mursiya) and was in charge of directing the prayer (as-room sahib) in that locality.

²⁵² **IBN KHALLIKAN** (1868) Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, Volume 3, p. 84

²⁵³ **FIERRO, Maribel** (1992) El proceso contra Abû ‘Umar al-Talamankî a través de su vida y de su obra. In: Sharq al-Andalus, N°. 9, pp. 93-127. Citation on p. 107

1038-1063 Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Tahir

Tudmir

After the death of Zuhair, 'Abd al-Aziz was, in fact, eager to take possession of the principality of Almeria, on the pretext that it devolved on him by right. However, he soon had to defend himself against Mujahid of Denia, who regarded with no favourable eye the enlargement of his neighbour's territories. Murcia was transferred to the ruler Mujahid and to the ruler 'Abd al-Aziz, then to his son, 'Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar (1038-1065). It was in reality governed, in the name of these rulers, by Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Tahir until his death in 1063.

The noble Xequ Abu Becar Ahmed Ben Ishac Ben Zuaid Ben Tahir, of the tribe of Alcaysi, was one of the most illustrious Cabilas in Africa. He ruled the land as Alcadem or Prefect, was a just and moderate man, who desired no other title than that of Mudlehim or the reconciler; and his zeal, with the fidelity which he displayed in the service of the Alameries when so many were unfaithful to the most sacred obligations, was a beautiful and admirable thing. He was rich and beneficent, which enabled him to do much for the advantage of the State; and the land of Murcia blessed the government of their excellent Xequ. To crown his happiness, Abu Becar possessed a son called Abderahman, who, while still in his youth, was the careful imitator of his father's many virtues²⁵⁴.

The poet Ibn Tahir was well known for his epistolary style. Ibn Bassâm compiled a collection of his letters in *Kitâb Silk al-Jawâhir min Tarsîl Ibn Tâhir Amîr Mursiya*. Ibn Bassâm devoted a chapter (in the first volume of the third part) of al-Dhakhîra, consisting of 78 pages to Ibn Tâhir. Knowing to be a prominent writer and scholar, Ibn Tahir's style was compared to

²⁵⁴ CONDE, José Antonio (1909). History of the dominion of the Arabs in Spain, Vol. II. London, George Bell & Sons, p. 136.

that of al-Sâhib b. ‘Abbâd. Ibn al-Abbâr says that he was superior to all other scholars and Udbâ of his time²⁵⁵.

Abd al-Aziz and Mujahid al-Siqlabi, discussed the possession of Murcia in 1041. In 1045 Mujahid took over Murcia from Abd al-Aziz before his death in June 1045²⁵⁶. However, as we will see from the following story, Mujahid entered Murcia before the date of 1045.

Abugalib

A famous man lived in Murcia during those years - Abû Tammâm Gâlib al-Tayyâni, Abû Gâlib Tammâm b. Gâlib al-Tayyâni, author of the lexicographic work *Talqîh Al-‘ayn*. It is said that when Muiyâhid entered Murcia he sent 1,000 Andalusian dinars to Abugalib with the condition that he would dedicate the work to him. However, Abugalib sent him the money back saying: “I assure you by Allah that I have not written my book for any prince in particular, but for all men who love to know.” Abugalib died in 1044²⁵⁷.

Zuhair the Alameri had given the government of Denia to Aly Ben Mugihaid, who had received the city of Castillon as an inheritance from his father, Mugihaid Ben Abdallah Mugihaid, called Abu Gaix, who was lord of the islands of Majorca, and in his own states called himself Ameer.

²⁵⁵ **BAKER, Khalid Lafta** (1986) *Ibn Bassâm as a Literary Historian, a Critic, and a Stylist: a Study of al-Dhakhîra*. PhD Thesis. University of Glasgow, pp. 11, 55 and 325

²⁵⁶ **COLLINS, Roger** (2012) *Caliphs and Kings: Spain, 796-1031*

²⁵⁷ **FIERO, María Isabel** (2004) *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de Al-Andalus. XIV. De muerte violenta. Política, religión y violencia en Al-Andalus*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, p. 147



Women Drawing Water (Jean Léon Gérôme)

He had a daughter married to Muhamad Ben Ismail Ben Abed, Cadi and subsequently King of Seville. On the islands, Ahmed Ben Baxic Abu Alabas held rule. He came of the Beni Zobeid of Murcia, was a just man, of great learning, was highly esteemed by all the Alamerics, and the islands remained peaceably under his command until the day of his death. That event took place in the year 440²⁵⁸.

Murcia recognized the authority of Abd al-Aziz after the death of Mujahid and many years thereafter one of his sons and successors Abdelmelic in 1061. Briefly said, the principality of Murcia was for some time attached to the kingdom of Valencia, under the reign of 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Mansur Ibn Abi 'Amir and his son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar. The governor who then ruled Murcia was Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Ishak Ibn Tahir. When he died in 455 (1063) after amassing a considerable fortune, he was succeeded by his son Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Muhammad

²⁵⁸ **CONDE, José Antonio** (1909). History of the dominion of the Arabs in Spain, Vol. II. London, George Bell & Sons, p. 136.

who soon proclaimed himself independent and repudiated the authority of the Valencian dynasty²⁵⁹. That time ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Mansur must have been a very important person too. Ibn Darradj al-Qastalli (958-1030) dedicated a poem to him. The poem has been translated by Fetah Chenni and Pierre Joris. Part of it follows²⁶⁰:

Ode in praise of al-Mansur al-‘Amiri, Emir of Cordoba (Mu’arada of Abu-Nawas)(Extract)

O wife! Set the will of the unjustly treated free
 so that it may rise into the desert’s immensity and take flight!
 Perhaps what pained you after separation
 will make the lowly stronger or free a prisoner.
 Don’t you know that to settle down means to die
 and that the homes of those who have no will become graves?
 Didn’t you try to read the early birds’ omen?
 Didn’t they fly to the right to tell you the journey would be safe?
 This long journey does scare me
 though the hope of kissing al-Mansur’s hand sustains me.

That time Valencia, and all her dependencies, which was a large tract of the best land in Spain, was under the obedience of Abdelazic Abul Hasan Ben Abderahman Ben Abi Amer, Wali of Valencia, who, for his great power and the high nobility of his state, was entitled Ameer and Almanzor, being the grandson of the great Hagib, Muhamad Almanzor Ben Abdallah Abi Amer. He was a man of such refined policy that he contrived to gain the hearts of all the Alameri generals, more particularly that of Zohair: he was indeed regarded as their chief by all the followers of his father’s house, and he ultimately inherited all their possessions. Abdelazic had been Wali and Lord of

²⁵⁹ **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1936) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*. E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1936, Volume VI, p. 733

²⁶⁰ **JORIS, Pierre** (2012) *Poems for the Millennium*, Volume Four: The University of California Book of North African Literature. Edited and with commentaries by Pierre Joris, Habib Tengour, p. 53

Valencia from the year 1021. The cities of Murbiter and Xatiba were governed for him by Lebun and Mubaric, both Alameri generals; and these being well united with those before mentioned, they all held firmly together, but were greatly disaffected towards the party of Cordova and its new King, Ben Muhamad Gehwar²⁶¹.

Aben Miguel of Murcia

The Arabist Candido Angel Gonzalez Palencia wrote about Aben Miguel of Murcia, but without stating references in his study. According to him Aben Miguel was master of the Cadi Abenalhadsé, figure of great importance in Muslim Spain. Aben Miguel was in Murcia where he spent his first years. Still very young he went to Córdoba where he married and completed his education, returning to Murcia where he lived until his death. I have not found - says one of his biographers -, a man more continent, virtuous, and enlightened than him. He ate only poultry, fish, and food coming from hunting, and read the whole Koran standing in twenty-four hours. His shoes were skins of Mallorca. He had a medium pass, but was very generous. He had an orchard that was his primary heritage, from which he gave shelter and food to those in need for many years. He was a decided propagandist of Malie doctrines,' teaching and defending them during disputes. He knew very well the traditions, distinguishing the authentic from the apocryphal ones, and the names of witnesses of the same, and the reasons that made them worthy of faith. He knew much grammar, lexicography, and exegesis, and he was a great interpreter of

²⁶¹ **CONDE, José Antonio** (1909). History of the dominion of the Arabs in Spain, Vol. II. London, George Bell & Sons, p. 137.

Koranic readings, often being mentioned for his learning and virtues²⁶² in Murcia, where he died in 1044.

Singer in Murcia

A written but unfortunately lost work about music belongs to a Murcian woman. As discussed in section II dedicated to poets and composers, Andalusian women would occupy a prominent place in the context of the different artistic activities, thus giving continuous character to the oriental school and the role represented by those known as *Qiyān* or singing slaves in the Umayyad and Abbasid society. Murcian author collection appears in the cited work of Ibn al-Abbar from Valencia as Fathuna bint Ya`far b. Ya`far, Umm al-Fath (X? century) who wrote the *Kitab fī qiyān al-Andalus* (book about the slave singers of al-Andalus). Undoubtedly the importance of these women must have made the author dedicate this surprising work because of it being at such an early age. The lack of data to supplement information on the life or work of Fathuna prevents us from determining to which school(s) belonged the compiled compositions made by singers, not counting, specific data on women dedicated to artistic activity in the region during the tenth century. Moreover, the fact that the date of the author appears with a question mark leads us to wonder if it perhaps belonged to the eleventh century, a period where the first news seems to focus on the Levantine School located in Denia and the region of Murcia²⁶³.

²⁶² **GÓNZALEZ PALENCIA, Ángel** (1957) *Primera conferencia. Árabes murcianos ilustres*. Murcia, Sucesores de Nogués, Publicación de la Academia Alfonso X el Sabio

GÓNZALEZ PALENCIA, Ángel (1957) *Árabes murcianos ilustres*. In: Murgetana, Nº 10, pp. 9-43

²⁶³ **CORTÉS, Manuela** (2008) *Tratados Musicales andalusíes de la escuela Levantina y aportaciones al marco interdisciplinar (ss. XI-XIII)*. In: Itamar. Revista de investigación musical: territorios para el arte. Univesidad de Valecia, pp. 159-182. Citation on pp. 165-166

Al-Udri or **Al-Udhri** (in full Abu al-abbas Ahmad ibn Umar ibn Anas ibn Dilhat ibn Abu al-Jiyar Anas ibn Faladan ibn Imran ibn Munayb ibn Zugayba ibn Qutba al-Udri, (1003–1085) was a Muwallad geographer and historian of Al-Andalus. Born in Almería in 1003, Al-Udri journeyed to Mecca as a young boy. During his ten-year stay he studied with Abu Dhar al-Harawi. Upon his return to al-Andalus he was apprenticed to Abu Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and later Ibn Hazm. He lived in Zaragoza and was the author of various books.

Siyasa

There are few written references about the ancient city of Siyasa (Cieza), but the name appears in several itineraries, a kind of tourist guides of those times, so that travelers could see the itinerary to follow. Al Udri gives the following description of the early 11th century about the road to follow between Cartagena and Toledo²⁶⁴: “The itinerary from Qartayana (Cartagena) to Tulaytula (Toledo). The first stage of the itinerary from Cartagena to Toledo goes from Cartagena to Murcia, about 30 miles away; up to Mulina 8 miles; up to Siyasa 25 miles ...”

Apparently the first reference to Siyasa appears to be from the 10th century. Probably by the 11th century it was already sufficiently well established, though still a relatively minor settlement. As indicated before, the Arab geographer Al-Udri described it as an important staging point on journeys from Cartagena to Toledo. In the 12th and 13th century Siyasa became a major urban centre with approximately 800 houses. Each house had approximately 5 inhabitants, thus this ancient town had a total of 4,000 inhabitants. The houses were occupying terraces on the hillside down to the river below (there is a

²⁶⁴ **Al-UDRI** (1965) *Tarsi ‘al-ajbar, de. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Ahwani*, Madrid, IEEI; trad. parcial, E. Molina López, “La cora de Tudmir según al-’Udri”, Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, 4 (1972), pp. 51 and 52

difference of over 100 metres in level between the houses at the top of the slope and those at the bottom). The town was fortified with the castle on top of the hill controlling the surrounding area as well as acting as a refuge for the town's population at times of danger. Although in an important strategic position in the Segura valley, Siyasa's livelihood was based on agriculture using the springs and the river for irrigation. Strangely enough, the references to Siyasa in al-Udri (11th century), al-Idrisi (mid-12th century), and the *fatwa* of Abu 'Abd Allah b. al-Hajj (first quarter of the 12th century) conflict with the material culture revealed by excavation²⁶⁵.



Castel of Siyasa (Cieza)
(www.regmurcia.com)

The settlement was once walled with towers, as well as having the castle overlooking it, and one or two traces of the walls

²⁶⁵ NAVARRO PALAZÓN, Julio & IMÉNEZ CASTILLO, Pedro (2000) *Siyasa: estudio arqueológico del despoblado andalusi* (ss. XI-XIII), p. 343

remain. They appear in general to have been of relatively poor quality, though some stronger points have been found in the more vulnerable areas. There were two principal entrances through the walls – one in the north below the castle and the other in the southeast near the cemetery. One of Siyasa's unusual features is that the cemetery is actually within its walled area. However, it seems that this may have resulted from the growth of the town causing the once external cemetery area to have to be incorporated within its expanding limits.

When discussing the region of Tudmir Al-Udri (d. 1085) from Almeria mentions Tudmir's river, recalling the similarity that existed between the Nile and the Segura regarding the use of the river resources. al-Razi made the same comparison in his work *Akhbar muluk al-Andalus*, and his text follows²⁶⁶:

They irrigate their land using the river, just as is done by taking advantage of the Nile in Egypt. This river flows eastwards. Its origin is the "M.l.n.h.sa" source, and the direction of its waters is that of Levante.

Its origin is near La Fuente, in "Lantiska", which is where the river in Cordoba is coming from, whose waters take the direction of the West. Tudmir's riverfronts are the wells that irrigate their gardens. The beginning of the canal to be drawn from this river is the Askaba Bridge [the village: Alcantarilla]. The canal passes between the lands

²⁶⁶ The texts of al-'Udri about al-Andalus have been edited by 'Abdal'aziz al-Ahwani, *Fragmentos geográfico-históricos de "Al-Masiilik ila yaml' al-Mamalik"*, Madrid (Instituto de Estudios Islámicos) 1965; the translated phrases are on p. 1. There is a Spanish translation of E. Molina López, *La cora de Tudmir según al-'Udri* (s. XI), Granada (Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, IV) 1972. **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1988) *Repartimiento de Orihuela, Academia Alfonso X el Sabio*, pp. XLV, CIV y CVII. All of them cited by:

CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (1996) Murcia en los geógrafos árabes. Comunidad Autónoma Universidad de Murcia, proyecto (PSH95/92). See:

<http://asociacionsierradesegura.blogspot.com.es/2013/01/anales-ii-quince-textos-arabes.html>

of the inhabitants of the city of Murcia to the limit of the Taws' village, one of the villages of Orihuela. The people of Orihuela derived a canal from the river that goes from their land to the place (nawdi ') called al-Qatrullat; the length of this canal is 28 miles [53km]. To the south the irrigation reaches the area (nahiya) known as "the muladíes (al-muwalladin)", and then it reaches the village of al-Jazeera where the river meets the sea. This place is called al-Mudawwar.



Shadoof irrigation

The town of Lorca

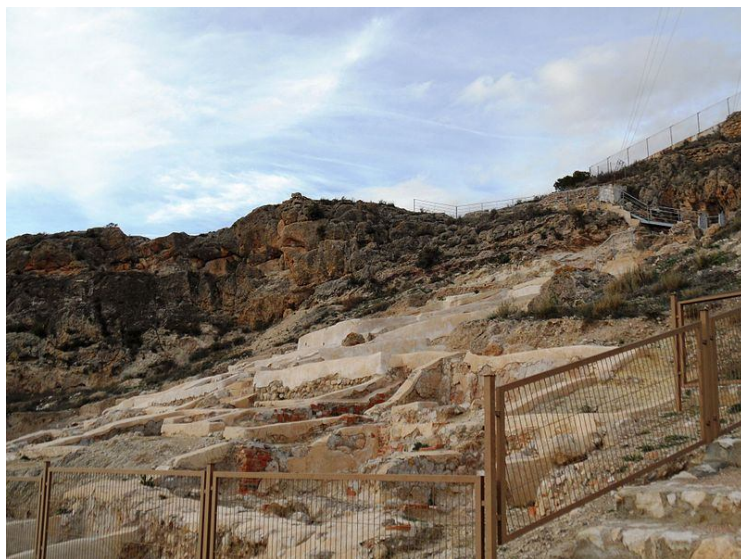
Lorca had its lords and did not depend on Murcia during the Taifa's period. Until the mid eleventh century it was administered by governors appointed by the kings of Almeria. However, when the first Tuyibi ruler of that city, M'an ibn Sumadih died in 1051, the governor of Lorca ibn Sabib declared a state of rebellion against his son Muhammad, asking help from King Ab al-Asiz of Valencia. Muhammad Ibn Sumadih failed to retake control of the city and the state of Lorca that had its own rulers until about 1078²⁶⁷. The town of Lorca was attached to the kingdom of Valencia (Abd-al-Aziz y Awas ibn Sumadih, 1038-1052) and then to the independent Taifa family Banu Lubkun (1052-1069).

Another author states in his book that the case of Lorca was different. Lorca had been annexed to Almeria, constituting an independent state of Valencia. Some time after withdrawing Abd al-Aziz from Almeria to Valencia, in 1041 his brother-in-law Abulahuas Man, son of Somadih, who was in charge of the government in that place did not obey him anymore. On the contrary, he created his own powerful state and besides Lorca he also had the government of Baeza and Jaen. In 1051 Lorca constituted its own independent state after the death of Abulahuas Man. He was followed up by his son Mohammed, who took the title of Almotasim. In fact, Almotasim was still too young, and the government came into the hands of his uncle and regent Abuotba, son of Mohammed, son of Somadih. No doubt that the death of Abulahuas Man was the motif for Abenxabib to protest. He was the governor of Lorca installed by Abulahuas Man. Fearing that the regent Abuotba would attack him, he took power in Lorca and asked for the help of Abd al-Aziz from Valencia. However, Almotasim allied with Badis the ruler of Granada and prepared a strong army under the command of his uncle. Abuotba entered the state of Lorca and seized various castles that had recognized their obedience to

²⁶⁷ **GUICHARD, Pierre** (1980) *Murcia Musulmana (siglos IX al XIII)*. In. *Historia de la Región Murciana*, Volume III, pp. 154-155

Abenxabib. However, he could not recapture the city of Lorca and was obliged to return to Almeria.

Angel Gonzalez Palencia states that the development of culture did not take place until there was some freedom of religion (XI century). At that time, already of an indigenous education, he who highlighted was Aben Al Lacham, the son of a saddler. He was qadi of Lorca and a disciple of Kenazaí and Abenafit, illustrious members of Cordoba. His biographers say that he was wise and easy to understand, having a good letter and writing Arabic well²⁶⁸.

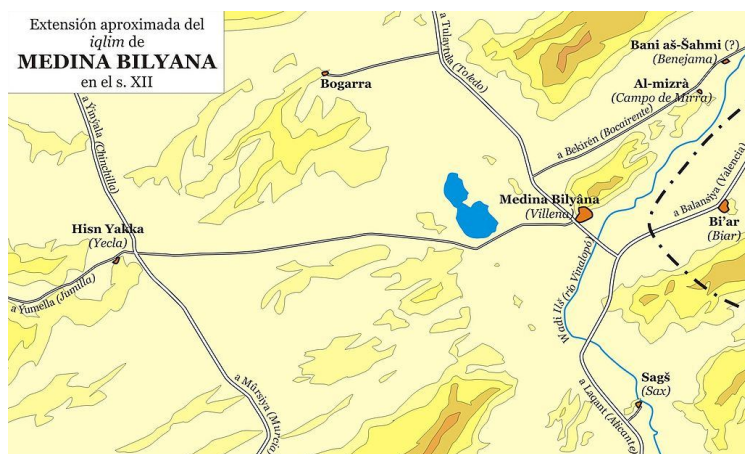


Hisn Yakkar of the 11th century.

²⁶⁸ **GÓNZALEZ PALENCIA, Ángel** (1957) *Primera conferencia. Árabes murcianos ilustres*. Murcia, Sucesores de Nogués, Publicación de la Academia Alfonso X el Sabio

GÓNZALEZ PALENCIA, Ángel (1957) *Árabes murcianos ilustres*. In: Murgetana, Nº 10, pp. 9-43

The Hisn Yakka was an Islamic site of the Castle Hill²⁶⁹. Written Arabic sources²⁷⁰ from around 1250 indicate Yecla as Hisn Yakka, a castle that was 45 miles from the capital of the heart of Murcia, Mursiya. Thanks to the archeology we know that the castle was built during the second half of the eleventh century, coinciding with the first period of the Taifas after the disintegration of the Cordovan Caliphate. It then belonged at first to the Taifa of Denia and then to the kingdom or taifa of Seville.



Situation of the Hisn Yakkar

Al-‘Udri refers in his work to various cities that belonged to the Cora of Todmir. However, many of them are still not localized.

²⁶⁹ **RUIZ MOLINA, Liborio** (1995) Yakka. Un asentamiento andalusí de la Cora de Murcia (ss. XI al XIV). In: Revista de Estudios Yeclanos. Yakka 6. Yecla, Ayuntamiento.

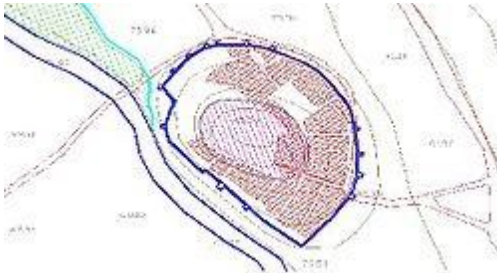
RUIZ MOLINA, Liborio (1992) *Yakka: un castillo rural de la cora de Murcia. Siglos XI al XIII: Estructura administrativa y poblamiento*. In: Miscelánea Medieval Murciana XVII: pp. 269-293

²⁷⁰ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (2009) Yecla. Memoria de su identidad, pp. 99-102

Therefore we mention only those that are located and of which we know the present names: Denia, Hellín (iqlim of Iyyu), iqlim of Chinchilla (Sintiyyala), iqlim of Taibilla (Taybaliya), Iqlim of Vera (Bayra) iqlim of Murcia (Mursiya), iqlim of Elche, iqlim of Begastri (Yabal Buqasra al-Qaïa, close to Cehegin), iqlim de Totana (Tawtana)²⁷¹.

Molina de Segura

The primitive town of Molina is on top of a modest hill about 80m above the sea level from where a splendid view of the valley of the River Segura is contemplated. Its location would allow visual control of the area between Archena and Alcantarilla; It could be seen right across the Mula River; at the back he left the city of Murcia which served as a gateway and defense.



A plan of the castle hill with altitude sections and indication of a possible layout in the original wall.

²⁷¹ **AI-UDRI** (1965) *Tarsi 'al-ajbar, de. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ahwani*, Madrid, IEEI; trad. parcial, E. Molina López, "La cora de Tudmir según al-'Udri", Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, 4 (1972), pp. 24-27

In this privileged place we proceeded during the 11th century to build a fortress or Hisn, encircled by a solid wall enclosure supported by towers or forts on the corners. It had two areas: the albacara where the inhabitants of the suburbs took refuge with all their belongings and cattle when there was a threat of danger, and the main area where weapons were stored. It had room for the victuals who built cisterns and warehouses as well as a residence for the head of the group, military, or warden in charge of the defense. The small population built in the east of the fortress and the north was free from buildings. This could have been a reserved area for stores near the wall space, a shelter for livestock, or even an internal orchard which is nowadays being investigated by several local people in the Spanish southeast.

In the 12th century according to some pottery shards of that time, given the need for further expansion of the walled enclosure a second wall was built following a line of lower altitude of between 77 and 74m. The building was adapted to the land, so this hill became the most difficult area to attack in case of siege.

Librilla

The Librilla Castle is at the current center of the town at the highest point of the hill where the center of the town was located, which is still bound by the area where the boulevard of Oron or Librilla sits and the ramblizo of Cava. The place with the built fortification was a strategic point from which there was key access to the valley of Guadalentín, a major orographic accident that was used as a means of communication between the eastern and southern Spain, and at some historical stages was also a coastal border area between the plains and the interior.

Access to the place where the fortification once stood is made from the center of town to which we will arrive from the

highway N-340 (E-15). Once there, and after crossing the stunning promenade through a bridge, the Church Square would become one of the central areas of the castle.

Few remainders today

The Librilla Castle is currently buried under the urban population center. In the highest part of the town some elements and the intricacies of the street seem to remind us that there once stood a fortress with walls, gates, towers, and battlements that have disappeared.

Peñaguila

Antonio de Valcárcel, count of Lumiares, unveiled a funerary inscription in the vicinity of the town²⁷². This inscription was dated to 452/1060 by Barceló Torres²⁷³.

Orihuela

Al-Udri tells us that "some earthquakes occurred in the territory of Tudmir, in the cities of Orihuela and Murcia, and in the spot between both. That occurred after 440 [1048-1049] and lasted about one year. There were several earthquakes every day; there was not a single day or night when earthquakes would not appear. They took down houses, swooped towers and all tall buildings. Orihuela's largest mosque collapsed with its minaret; the earth opened... Many springs disappeared underground and others originated with smelly water²⁷⁴ ..."

²⁷² **VALCARCEL PIO DE SABOYA, Antonio** (1852) *Inscripciones y antigüedades del reino de Valencia*, p. 80

²⁷³ **BARCELÓ TORRES, Carmen** (1998) *La escritura árabe en el país valenciano. Inscripciones monumentales, I-II, Valencia*, pp. 158-159

²⁷⁴ **HAMED TRIKI** (2003) *Itinerario cultural de Almorávides y Almohades. Magreb y Península Ibérica*. Junta de Andalucía, p. 420

1063-1078 Abu Abderramān Muhammad Ibn Tahir

Tudmir

Abu ‘Abd al-Rahman Muhammad, who succeeded his father Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Tahir, soon proclaimed himself independent and repudiated the authority of the Valencian dynasty. This occurred in 1063. He depended on Abbad ibn Muhammad al-Mu'tadid (c.?-1069), king of Seville, and soon his son Muhammad ibn 'Abbad al-Mu'tamid (1040-1095) and his minister ibn Amman would rule in Murcia. But who exactly was ibn Amman?

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Ammār, also known as Ibn Ammar de Silves or Abenamar (1031-1086), was an Andalusī poet and vizier of the Taifa of Sevilla. From a humble background and little known, his talent for poetry appealed to the young prince Al-Mu'tamid, who became his lover and friend and named him vizier of Sevilla after the death of his father Abbad ibn Muhammad al-Mu'tadid in 1069.

Among his writings his *Qasīdah en rā*, dedicated to Al-Mu'tamid, has enjoyed great fame. It's poetry qualified as smooth, bright, showy, and conventional, and that is because his style has elegant decorative artificiality. So we can extract from his poetic composition, some verses praising the sovereign:

Cupbearer, served in the glass wheel, the zephyr has risen already and
the morning star has already diverted the reins of the night journey.

Dawn has brought us its white camphor, the night has taken its amber
black away.

The garden is beautiful, dressed in the robes of flowers and adorned
with the pearl necklace of the dew, or as a doncel, reddening with the
shyness of roses and emboldened with the bozo myrtle.

The garden, where the river looks like an outstretched hand on a green robe, is agitated by the zephyr - you could think it is the sword of Ben Abad that scatters the armies.

Ben Abad! In anguish, when the air is clothed in an ashen robe, the gift of his hand is fertile, and chooses to make her gifts, the Virgin already nubile, naked horse and the sword adorned with precious stones.

King when kings mass target the watering hole, they cannot water until he returns; cooler on the hearts than the dripping dew, more pleasant on the eyelids than the sweet heaviness of sleep.

He makes the link sparkle in the glory and does not move away from the heat of the fight other than to approach the home fires burning for guests; the king who admires physically and morally how beautiful the garden is seen both from afar and nearby.

When while being beside it pours the Kautar of its generosity on me, I am certain of being in paradise.

Have you fructified your spear with the heads of the enemy kings because you saw the branch enjoy being in fruit, and have you had your level with the blood of their heroes because you saw the beautiful dressed up in red?

My poem is for you, like a garden visited by the zephyr and on which frost bent until flourished.

In your name I have dressed it in a golden robe, with your praise I unconscionably put the best mask on it.

Who will dare to do it with me? Your name is Aloe - I have burned in the cauldron of my genius²⁷⁵.

This poem made the fortune of Ibn Ammar. Because of it he became one of the poets of the court of al-Mu'tadid. He became a close friend of the heir Prince Muhammad —later known as al-Mu'tamid— who ruled Seville from 1068-9 to 1091. When

²⁷⁵ **GARCÍA GÓMEZ, Emilio** (1959) *Poemas arábigo-andaluces*. Espasa Calpe en la colección Austral volumen N°. 162

Muhammad was sent by his father to Silves to serve there as a governor, Ibn Ammar accompanied him as an advisor. It seemed like a brilliant career lay before him. But misfortune struck. In 1058 al-Mu'tadid L058 sent him to exile. We do not know for sure what kind of snub or offence he committed: it was rumoured that the prince heir and he had an affair, and the references found in some poems of Ibn Ammar seem to confirm it. Whatever the reason, he had to leave the kingdom of Seville. After short stays in the courts of Almeria and Albarracín he settled in the court of the Huds in Zaragoza. There he remained in exile for about ten years, leading occasionally to the verses of self-pity to al Mu'tadid in an attempt to soften his heart:

Rainclouds are weeping - over me
indeed!
Turtledoves are wailing - over me
indeed!
For none but me the stars are clothed
in mourning,
For none but me they stand bewailing
the dead!

His pleas were unsuccessful. But when al-Mu'tadid died in 1068-1069 and was succeeded by his son Prince al-Mu'tadid, Ibn Ammar was called back to Seville and resumed his career as a courtier and advisor. For the next ten years all went well and we do not have much documentation of these years²⁷⁶.

Compared with the other Andalusian tyrants, Mu'tamid was a powerful prince; and yet, like them, he was a tributary. His first suzerain had been Garcia, King of Galicia, third son of Fernando, but Alfonso VI had occupied this position since coming into possession of the realms of his two brothers, Sancho and Garcia. Now Alfonso was an extremely unpleasant suzerain: not content with a yearly tribute, he threatened from time to time to seize the states of his Arab vassals. On one occasion he invaded Sevillian territory at the head of a large

²⁷⁶ **FLETCHER, Richard** (2009) *El Cid*. Narea. Madrid, p. 55

army. Indescribable consternation reigned among the Moslems, who were too weak to defend themselves. The Prime Minister, Ibn Ammar, alone did not despair. He did not rely upon the Sevillian troops "it would indeed have been futile to pit them against the Christian army" but he was acquainted with Alfonso, whose Court he had often visited, and knew him to be ambitious, yet as easily managed as an Arab, by anyone who humoured his tastes and foibles. It was upon Alfonso's weakness, therefore, that Ibn Ammar resolved to work, and instead of organizing armed resistance he ordered a chess-board to be made of workmanship so exquisite that no king possessed its equal. The men were of ebony and sandal-wood inlaid with gold. Provided with this work of art, he visited, under some pretext, Alfonso's camp, and was courteously received " for Ibn 'Ammar was one of the few Moslems whom the King held in esteem. One day Ibn 'Ammar showed his chess-board to a Castilian noble who stood high in Alfonso's favour. The noble described it to the King, and the latter asked Ibn 'Ammar whether he was a skilled chess-player. "My friends consider that I play a good game," replied the Minister. "I am told that you possess a beautiful chess-board." "It is true, Sire." "May I see it?" "Assuredly; but on one condition" that we play a game, and that if you win, the board is yours, but if you are vanquished, I have the right to demand what I will." "Be it so." The board was brought, and Alfonso, amazed at the beauty and delicacy of the workmanship, crossed himself and exclaimed: "Marvellous! I should never have imagined that a chess-board could be made with such art! "After feasting his eyes on it, he added: "What were the conditions you proposed?" "Ibn 'Ammar repeated them. "Nay!" cried the King, "never will I play for an unknown stake" "you might make a request which I could not grant." "As you will, Sire," replied Ibn 'Ammar coldly, and he ordered the attendants to take the board back to his tent. The interview was at an end; but Ibn 'Ammar was not a man to be easily disheartened. In strict confidence he informed several Castilian nobles what he intended to demand of Alfonso

if he won the game, and promised them large sums if they would assist him. Greedy for gold, and reassured as to Ibn 'Ammar's designs, they consented to perform their part, and when Alfonso "who was consumed with the desire of possessing such a marvel" consulted the nobles on the subject, they replied: "If you win, Sire, you will be the owner of a treasure which every king will envy; and if you lose, what, after all, can this Arab demand? If he makes an extravagant request, are we not here, and cannot we bring him to reason?" Alfonso yielded to their arguments, and requested Ibn 'Ammar to return, with his wondrous chess-board. "I accept your conditions," said the King; "let us begin the game." "With great pleasure," replied Ibn 'Ammar; "but let us strictly observe the rules, and let witnesses named by me be present." The King consented, and when the Castilian nobles specified by Ibn Ammar arrived the game began. Alfonso was beaten. "I have won the right to ask of you what I will?" said Ibn Ammar. The King assented. "I ask you to lead your army back to your own country!" Alfonso turned pale. He strode up and down the hall in fevered excitement, seated himself, and again sprang to his feet. "I am trapped!" he at length exclaimed to his nobles: "And you are the cause of it! I feared some such request from this man; but you reassured me, and bade me make my mind easy: and now I reap the fruit of your abominable advice!" Then, after a few moments of silence, the King added: "After all, why should I adhere to this condition? I throw it to the winds! I shall continue my advance!" "Sire," said the Castilians, "that would be a breach of honour: you, the mightiest king in Christendom, are surely incapable of breaking your word." Alfonso at length grew calmer. "Well," he said, "I shall keep my word; but to compensate for my discomfiture, I shall exact at least a double tribute this year." "You shall receive it, Sire," replied Ibn Ammar. The Minister immediately took steps to provide the King with the money he demanded, and Seville, threatened by

an alarming invasion, was relieved from her fears by the skill and tenacity of her Prime Minister²⁷⁷.

The principality of Ibn Tahir soon aroused the covetousness of the minister of al-Mu'tamid [q.v.] Ibn 'Abbad, king of Seville, and an expedition was sent against Murcia with the help of an independent lord of the district, Ibn Rashik of Balg (Vélez Rubio). Ibn Tahir was taken prisoner around and shut up in Monteagudo (Hullat al-Siyara) in 1078-1079²⁷⁸, but escaping, he reached Valencia where sought Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's protection. There, he was acting as adviser to al-Kadir Ibn Dhi 'l-Nun [q.v.] and having almost succeeded him, he finally died in 508 (1114)²⁷⁹.

The Prime Minister and Vizier of Seville, Ibn 'Ammar, schemed to enlarge its borders. The principality of Murcia especially had attractions for his ambition. At one time it had formed part of Zuhair's dominions, and it was afterwards attached to the kingdom of Valencia; but at the period we have now reached it was independent. The reigning prince was Abu 'Abd-er-Rahman ibn Tahir, and Arab of the tribe of Kais. He was immensely rich-owning half the country-he was moreover a man of enlightened intellect, but his army was scanty, and his principality would prove an easy prey. The Prime Minister of Seville became aware of this when, in 1078, he passed through Murcia to visit, for an unrecorded reason, the Count of Barcelona, Raymond Berenger II, surnamed "Tow-head" from his abundant locks. Ibn 'Ammar then took the opportunity to

²⁷⁷ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 677-679.

²⁷⁸ **NAVARRO SUÁREZ, Francisco José & MARTÍNEZ SALVADOR, Carmen** (1998). Monteagudo, el castillo del rey lobo. In: *Cuadernos de patrimonio histórico-artístico de Murcia*, Murcia, p. 3.

²⁷⁹ **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1936). *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*. E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1936, Volume VI, p. 733.

enter into friendly relations with certain Murcian nobles who were dissatisfied with Ibn Tahir, or who, at any rate, were ready to betray him for a consideration, and on reaching Raymond's court the Vizier offered the Count ten thousand ducats if he would aid him in conquering Murcia. The Count accepted the proposal, and as a guarantee for the execution of the treaty, entrusted his nephew to Ibn 'Ammar. For his part, the Vizier promised that if the money was not forthcoming by the date fixed, Mu'tamid's son, Rashid, who commanded the Sevillian army, should serve as a hostage. Mu'tamid, however, was ignorant of this clause of the treaty, which Ibn 'Ammār, convinced that the money would arrive in time, thought would not become applicable.

The Sevillian troops took the field in concert with those of Raymond, and attacked the principality of Murcia, but since Mu'tamid, with habitual carelessness, had let the stipulated date pass by, the Count suspected that Ibn 'Ammār had deceived him, and arrested the Vizier Ibn 'Ammar as well as Rashid. The Sevillian soldiers tried to liberate them, but were repulsed and forced to retreat.

The king of Seville, Mu'tamid was at the time on his way to Murcia, accompanied by the Count's nephew; but since he marched slowly, he had only reached the bank of the Guadianamenor, which he could not cross since it was in flood, when fugitives from his army appeared on the opposite bank. Among them were two horsemen to whom Ibn 'ammar had given instructions. They urged their horses into the stream, and crossing it, informed Mu'tamid of the deplorable events which had happened. They added that Ibn 'Ammar hoped soon to be set at liberty, and begged Mu'tamid, in his name, to remain where he was. Mu'tamid did not take this advise. Dismayed at the news, and uneasy about his son's fate, he withdrew to Jaen, after putting the Count's nephew in fetters.

Ten days later, Ibn ‘Ammar, who had been released, arrived near Jaen; but fearing Mu’tamid’s wrath, he did not venture to enter his presence, and sent him these verses:

“Shall I be swayed by my own forebodings, or shall I lend an ear to my comrades’ counsel? Shall I execute my design, or remain here with my escort? When I obey the promptings of my heart, I advance, sure to find the arms of my friend open to welcome me; but cold reason makes me retrace my steps. Friendship drags me on, but the memory of my fault restrains me. Strange are the decrees of destiny! Who could have predicted that the day would come when I should be happier far from thee than at thy side? I fear thee, because thou hast the right to deprive me of life – I trust in thee, because I love thee with all my heart. Have pity on him whose affection thou knowest to be immutable, and whose only merit is loving thee sincerely. I have done naught to give a handle to those who are envious of me, nothing which argues negligence or rashness on my part; but thou hast exposed me to a terrible calamity; thou hast blunted my sword – nay, thou hast broken it. Of a truth if I did not recall the numberless bounties thou hast bestowed upon me, like rain on the branches of trees, I should not thus yield myself a prey to torments, and I should not say that the fault was mine. On my knees I implore thy clemency, I entreat thy pardon; but were I blasted by the bitter north-wind of thy displeasure, I should cry, ‘O Zephyr refreshing to my heart!’”

Mu’tamid, who must have been aware that the fault was his own, could not resist Ibn ‘Ammar’s appeal, and replied thus:

“Come, and once more take thy place at my side! Come without fear, for honours await thee, and not reproaches. Know that I love thee too much to distress thee; naught can be more pleasing to me than to see thee happy. When thou comest, thou wilt find me, as ever ready to pardon the offender, and element towards my friends. I shall treat thee with kindness as of yore, and I shall pardon thy fault, if fault there be; for the Eternal hath not implanted in me a hard heart, and it is not my wont to forget an old and sacred friendship.”

Reassured by these words, Ibn ‘Ammar flew to his sovereign’s feet. The two friends decided to offer the Count his nephew’s liberty, and the ten thousand ducats to which he was entitled, provided that Rashid was set free. But Raymond was not

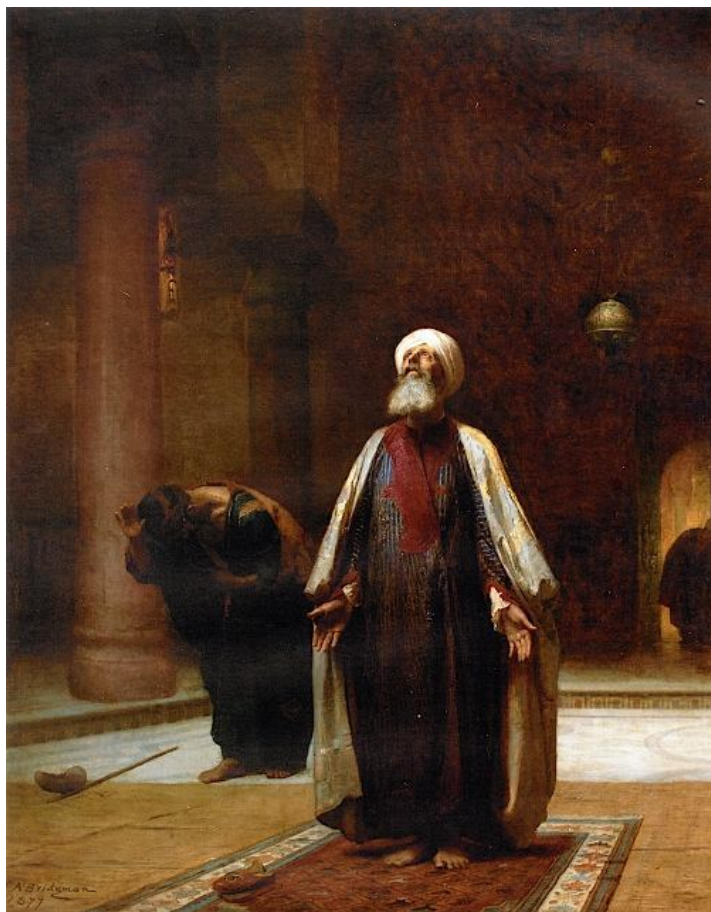
content with the stipulated sum; he demanded thirty thousand ducats. Since Mu'tamid had not so much money available, he had the amount coined with a large admixture of alloy. Fortunately, the Count did not discover the fraud until Rashid had been released. In spite of the failure of his first attempt, Ibn 'Ammar did not cease to covet Murcia. He declared that he had received very encouraging letters from some of the Murcian nobles, and succeeded in persuading Mu'tamid to let him besiege the city with the Sevillian army.

On reaching Cordova he halted for twenty-four hours, to add the cavalry in that city to his troops. He spent the night with Fath the Governor, and so enchanted was he with Fath's witty and sparkling conversation, that when a eunuch came to announce that day was breaking, he improvised this couplet:

“Begone, thou fool! For me the whole night hath been dawn! Could it be aught else, with Fath as my companion?”

Proceeding on his march, he drew near to a castle which still bore the name of Balj, the chief of the Syrian Arabs in the eighth century, and of which an Arab belonging to Balj's tribe—that of the Koshair—was Governor. This Arab, Ibn Rashik by name, came to meet the Vizier, and begged him to repose in his castle. Ibn 'Ammār accepted the invitation.

The castellan entertained him magnificently, and omitted no means of enlisting his goodwill. He was only too successful. Ibn 'Ammar at once reposed confidence in him; never had it been more misplaced.



A moment of prayer (Frederick Arthur Bridgman)

Accompanied by his new friend, the Vizier set out to besiege Murcia. Mula speedily surrendered in 1078. This was a severe blow to the Murcians, for their supplies came through that district. Ibn ‘Ammār therefore felt confident that the city would soon capitulate, and entrusting Mula to the care of Ibn Rashik, with whom he left a detachment of cavalry, he returned to Seville with the rest of the army. After his arrival he received letters from his lieutenant, to the effect that Murcia was

devastated by famine, and that the principal citizens, to whom he had offered lucrative posts, had agreed to assist the besiegers²⁸⁰.

Tudmir

Ferdinand I (c. 1015–1065), called the Great (*el Magno*), was the Count of Castile from his uncle's death in 1029 and the King of León after defeating his brother-in-law in 1037. According to tradition, he was the first to have himself crowned Emperor of Spain (1056), and his heirs carried on the tradition. Shortly before his death, his wife the Queen, Dona Sancha, convinced him to conquer Murcia. Old and feeble as he was, and given up to the contemplation of his approaching end, he at first heeded not at all. But the Queen, Dona Sancha, a wife worthy of a great conqueror, braced him to a last effort. She pointed out how failure at the last would tarnish a long list of brilliant successes; it is said that she even gave the whole of her private fortune towards the fitting out of the expedition that followed. Led by the King in person, it passed, burning, slaying, and plundering, through Murcia, and actually reached the shores of the Mediterranean near Valencia. Had the King been young and vigorous as of old, he might have fulfilled the boast of the chroniclers and made all Spain tributary to him. But he fell ill, and San Isidoro, whose body he had so signally honoured, warned him that his end was near. He returned hastily to his own dominions, and, sick unto death, reached the city of Leon on Christmas Eve, 1065. Shortly thereafter, the king died²⁸¹.

²⁸⁰ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 679-682.

²⁸¹ **BUTLER CLARKE, H.** (1897). *The Cid campeador*, London-New York, p. 63.

The town of Lorca

At that time the lord of Lorca was Abu-l-Asbag ibn Lubkun, adopting the sultan's title of Sa'd al-Dawla. However, in 1078 he had to recognize the sovereignty of the king of Seville al-Mu'tamid. Conde²⁸² mentions Abu Muhammad Adala as King of Lorca in 1075 (h. 467).

Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah b. 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Ali b. Khalaf b Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Lakhmi Al-Mari Al-Andalusi, traditionist and historian of Muslim Spain.

He was born in 466/1074 at Orihuela (Murcia). His nisba al-Rushati²⁸³ is of Romance origin and refers to a physical characteristic. One of his ancestors had on his body a mole (*shama*) of the type known as "rose" (*warda*) called by the Christians "*rusha*"; the Romance-speaking servant (*Khadim 'adjamiyya*) who cared for him as a child called him "Rushatelo", from which the nisba of the family derived. When he was six years old, al-Rushati's family moved to Almería, where he completed his studies and where later he taught. Having witnessed the conquest of the town by the Almoravids in 484/1091, he himself died a martyr when the Christians conquered Almería in 542/1147. His most famous work is the *Iktibas al-anwar wa-iltimas al-azhar fi ansab / asma 'al-sahaba wa-ruwat a-athar*, a book praised by Ibn Kathir and one similar in methodology (*uslub*) to the genealogical work by al-Sam'ani (d. 562/1167).

When Abû Muhammad al-Rusâtî speaks about his birth city Orihuela, he clearly affirms: "wa-bi-hâ qubûr âbâ'î wa-aydâdî" (and in it there are the graves of my parents and

²⁸² CONDE, José Antonio (1820). Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España, Volume II. (In the first pages).

²⁸³ IBN KHALLIKAN (1843). Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, Volume 2, p. 70.

grandparents)²⁸⁴ without specifying the concrete place of this Islamic cemetery in Orihuela.

‘Ali Ibn Sidah from Murcia

‘Ali Ibn Sidah (Ibn Isma’il), surnamed Abū-l-hasan, a celebrated Arabian lexicographer and philologist, was born at Murcia about A. H. 400. He first studied under his father, as well as under the celebrated rhetorician Abū-l-‘ala Sā’id of Baghdād, and made such progress in the poetry and literature of the Arabs that he became one of the best scholars of his time. At the age of thirty- five he lost his eyesight, notwithstanding which he continued his literary pursuits, and had the best works read over to him. Ibn Khallekān, who wrote the Life of ‘Ali Ibn Sidah (*Tij. Ind.*) says that he was born blind, as well as his father and grandfather, which did not prevent him from becoming the most eminent rhetorician and grammarian of his day. His memory was so prodigious that he could repeat any work, however extensive, in prose or verse, after hearing it twice read. A travelling lecturer, named Abū

‘Omar, of Salamanca, happened once to go to Murcia with a new book just published at Cordova, entitled “Wonderful Anecdotes of Authors and Books.” Having soon after his arrival become acquainted with some of the literary men of the place, he was requested in an assembly at which he was present to read some passages out of the new book. Abū ‘Omar excused himself, but produced the book for any of the company who chose to read aloud to the others. No sooner had he laid the book down, than to his great astonishment a blind man who sat in a corner of the room, and who was ‘Ali Ibn Sīdah, took it up,

²⁸⁴ **ABŪ MUHAMMAD AL-RUSĀTĪ; IBN AL-JARRĀT AL-ISBĪLĪ**, *Al-Andalus en el Kitāb iqtibās al-anwar y en el Ijtisār iqtibās al-anwār*. Ed., introduc. y notas de Molina López, E., y Bosch Vilà, J., Madrid, 1990, p. 20. Cited by **MARTÍNEZ NÚÑEZ, María A.** (2001). Estelas funerarias de época califal aparecidas en Orihuela (Alicante). In: *Al-Qantara*, Vol. XXII, pp. 45-76. Citation on pp. 45-46.

and began reciting passages from it. Abū ‘Omar then asked ‘Ali how he came to know by heart a work which had only been written two months before, and of which a few copies only had been made for the friends of the author? ‘Ali answered, that he had heard it read at the house of a friend a few nights before. ‘Ali Ibn Sídah died at Denia in A.H.458. Some writers have placed his death ten years earlier. His name has been badly read by all the European writers who have treated of him. Casiri calls him sometimes Ibn Seyra, and at other times Sada; D’Herbelot, Seidah; Reiske, Seïda; Hamacker, Seyidah. His real name, according to Ibn Khallikān, was Ibn Sídah, which means “the son of the lioness.” He wrote among other works the following:

1. “Al-muhakkam fī-l-loghat” (“The Form: on the Language”), which appears to have been a dictionary.
2. “Al-anik fī sharhi-l- hamāsah” (“The Book of Beauty, or a Commentary on the Hamāsah”), in six large volumes.
3. “Al-mokhassas fī-l-loghat” (“On the Properties of the Language”): this is an Arabic dictionary composed of twenty-four volumes or parts, two of which, the 16th and 17th, written in the city of Murcia about a century after the death of the author, are presented in the Escorial library²⁸⁵.

Furthermore, he was author of the Muhkam, a dictionary of 28 volumes.

The anecdote of Abū ‘Omar At-Talamankí cannot fail here²⁸⁶: “I once entered,” says he, “the city of Murcia, when the people flocked round me to hear me read the work entitled *“Wonderful stories of authors and books.”* I said to them-Here is the book,

²⁸⁵ **VARIOS** (1843). Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge. Volume II. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, Paternoster-row, pp. 155-156.

²⁸⁶ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dīn Ibni-l-khattīb / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallarí; Translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume I, p. 146.

fetch a man that may read in it; and I opened the work ready for his arrival. Behold! what was my astonishment when I saw them returning with a blind man, whose name was Ibn Sídah, who began to recite it from top to bottom. Astonished at what I saw, I asked, and was informed that, although a blind man, he was gifted with so prodigious a memory that he could repeat whatever he had once heard, and that having on a former occasion listened to the reading of the said work, he now knew it quite by heart. This extraordinary man, whose entire name was Abū-l-hasan ‘Alí Ibn Ahmed Ibn Sídah, was not only blind from his birth, but he was also the son of a blind man; he died at the age of sixty, in the year four hundred and one of the Hijra, and is well known as the author of the *Kitābu-l-muhkami fī-l-loghati* (the book of the foundations of the language).”

The love of the Andalusians for science is sufficiently proved by the countless anecdotes with which their biographical dictionaries and literary records are known to abound.

Murcia

Archaeologists recovered a set of 424 coins and 4 golden objects during the excavation of an Islamic house built in the 11th century in Jabonerías street, Murcia. The coins were inside a ceramic pot hidden inside one of the walls of the house. The hoard is composed of coins from northern Africa and Sicilia, mostly Fatimíd coins, and the fractional dinars from the Andalusian Party kings²⁸⁷.

²⁸⁷ **DOMÉNECH BELDA, Carolina** (2013). Contextualización arqueológica de un conjunto monetario: la excavación de una vivienda del siglo XI en la calle Jabonerías de Murcia. In: Tudmir, Revista del Museo Santa Clara, Murcia, N° 3, pp. 8-25.



Professor Emilio Martínez discusses in his book the tombstone of a certain Ahmad Ibn Yanahi (457/1065) in Murcia and many other inscriptions²⁸⁸.

Description of the seaports of Tudmir

Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb ibn 'Amr al-Bakrī, or simply Al-Bakri (c. 1014–1094) was an Andalusian Muslim geographer and historian.

Al-Bakri wrote about Europe, North Africa, and the Arabian Peninsula. His most important work is his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik* ("Book of Highways and of Kingdoms"). This was composed in 1068, based on literature and the reports of merchants and travellers, including Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Warraq (904-973) and Abraham ben Jacob. It is one of the most important sources for the history of West Africa and gives interesting information on Tudmir. Although the material borrowed from Yusuf al-Warraq dated from the 10th century, he also included information on events that occurred close to the time that he wrote. The information of Tudmir is as follows:

It is followed (to Pechina), also eastward, forty miles by land, by the port of 'Ain Furrūy ("Fountain of Chickens" current Bethioua). It is a safe harbour in winter. It has water wells. Its houses are on a cemetery. It has the port of Aguilas (Áqila) in front, on the land of Al-Andalus, which is the port of the city of Lorca {Lûrqa}. From one to another there are three stages. To the east it is followed by the port of Oasr Al-Fulūs ("Fortress of Coins") - a city by the sea which is not inhabited. It has water brought in artificially from digging in the soil. The port of

²⁸⁸ MARTÍNEZ ENAMORADO, Emilio (2009). Incripciones árabes de la Region de Murcia, p. 211.

Cartagena (Oartayanna) corresponds to the lands of Al-Andalus. Then, twenty-five miles away, follows the port of Magila Bani Hâsim (Maguila fraction of Hashim). It is a port in summer, not protected from the winds. It has a religious fortress (ribât) by the sea, with people. It has plenty of water. It has in front, on the land of Al-Andalus, the Captel of Tudmir (Oabtil Tudmir, in the northern part of Mar Menor, according to Al-Idrisi, called "of Tudmir" to distinguish it from its namesake of the mouth of the Guadalquivir).

Then follows the port of the city of Tenes with the ports of lîtâbi ("minor" according to translation of De Slane) between the two. It is a summer port protected by the east and west. It has water that comes to the surface. The port of Tenes has Santa Pola (Sant Bûl) in front in the land of Al-Andalus. More than twenty miles eastward of the port of Tenes follows the port of the island of Wuqûr ("Cavities"). It has a small river that flows into the sea. The island is close to the mainland (barr, also "the coast" as opposed to "sea", as reflected in the aforementioned expression barr Al-Andalus, "land or coast of Al-Andalus"). In front, on the land of Al-Andalus, it has the port of Alicante (Laqant). The sea is cut between the two in five stages. Then there is the port of Charchell, which had a city that was once important and is not inhabited. You can get water from the soil. It is protected by the east and west. The town of Charchell had a built port (mina) which is now filled. There are religious fortresses (ribâtât) where many people gather each year. Five and a half days ahead it has the port of Mudaira (Moraira - poor transcription of Arabic text). Then follows Mount Sanwa (Chenoua). It has a port called Al-Batal. It is not inhabited. It is protected from westerly winds. It has running water. Five days ahead on the opposite bank of Al-Andalus it has Mount Oarûn (read Oawûn, as Al-Idrisi, the Montgó in Denia)²⁸⁹.

²⁸⁹ EPALZA, M. (1986) "Costas alicantinas y costas magrebíes: el espacio marítimo musulmán según los textos árabes". In: Sharq Al-Andalus, 3, pp. 25-31

Peñaguila

Antonio de Valcárcel, count of Lumières, revealed a funerary inscription situated in the yard of the mansion of Vicente Català, parcel of Espica, territory of Peñaguila²⁹⁰. Barceló Torres²⁹¹ dated this inscription to 469/1077.

AL-BAKRĪ (1911-1913) *Al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* (Description de l'Afrique septentrionale par Abou-Obeïd-el-Bekri), ed. and French trans. M.G. de Slane (Paris, 1911-13), pp. 163-165

²⁹⁰ **VALCARCEL PIO DE SABOYA, Antonio** (1852) *Inscripciones y antigüedades del reino de Valencia*, p. 80

²⁹¹ **BARCELÓ TORRES, Carmen** (1998) *La escritura árabe en el país valenciano. Inscripciones monumentales, I-II, Valencia*, pp. 173-175

1078-1080 Abu Bakr Muhammad b. ‘Ammar

The conquest of the kingdom of Murcia by Ibn ‘Ammar in the name of the ‘Aghbasids took place in 471 (1078), but it was only nominal and it was Ibn Rashik of Balg (Vélez Rubio) who exercised the real power instead of Ibn Tahir²⁹².

“To-morrow, or the day after,” said Ibn ‘Ammār, “we shall hear that Murcia has fallen.” He was right: the gates were treacherously opened to Ibn Rashik; Ibn Tahir was thrown into prison, and all the Murcians swore allegiance to Mu’tamid. As soon as Ibn ‘Ammār, to his great joy, had heard this news, he asked Mu’tamid’s permission to visit the conquered city. Mu’tamid granted it without hesitation. Thereupon the Vizier, wishing to reward the Murcians lavishly, procured a large number of horses and mules from the royal stables, and borrowing others from his friends, to the number of two hundred in all, he loaded them with costly products of the loom, and set out on his march with flying banners and tuck of drum. In each town which he passed’ through he replenished the public treasury.

His entry into Murcia was a triumphal procession. On the morrow he held an audience and assumed royal airs-wearing a tall head-dress, such as his master was wont to don on formal occasions, and writing at the foot of petitions presented to him: “ Be it so: if God willeth ! ” without mention of Mu’tamid’s name. Conduct so presumptuous smacked of treason: Mu’tamid, at any rate, thought so. But his emotion was rather one of profound sorrow and discouragement than of anger: he saw the dream in which he had indulged for twenty-five years suddenly fading. The instincts of his heart had been deceitful. Ibn ‘Ammār’s friendship, his protestations of disinterestedness,

²⁹² **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1936). *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*. E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1936, Volume VI, p. 733.

of immutable devotion -al were falsehood and hypocrisy! The Vizier, however, was perhaps less culpable than he appeared in his master's eyes. His vanity, it is true was excessive and ridiculous, but it is far from certain that he contemplated rebellion against his benefactor. Of a less ardent and impressionable character than Mu'tamid, the Vizier had not fully reciprocated his sovereign's enthusiastic and passionate friendship. And yet he had a real affection for the king, as the verses which he sent in reply to Mu'tamid's reproaches testify:

“Nay, thou deceivest thyself when thou declarest that the vicissitudes of fortune have changed me! The love which I bear towards my aged mother, Shams, is less ardent than that which I feel for thee. Dear friend, how cometh it that thy loving-kindness doth not shine on me, as lightning pierceth the darkness of night? Why doth not one kind word come to refresh me like a gentle breeze? I suspect that infamous men, whom I well known, have conspired to poison our amity. Canst thou thus draw back thy hand after a friendship of twenty-five years? – years of unalloyed happiness, which have sped without yielding thee any cause of complain against me, and during which I have done no ill deed? Wilt thou thus draw back thy hand and leave me a prey to the talons of destiny? What am I but thy obedient and submissive slave? Ponder awhile; be not hasty; oft-times he who hasteneth stumbleth, while he who walketh heedfully reacheth his goal. Ah! Thou wilt think of me when the links which unite us are snapped, and none but false and self-seeking friends are left to thee! Thou wilt seek for me when there is none at hand to give thee good counsel, and when I am not there to serve as a whetstone to other's wits.”

A single hour of unreserved conversation would, perhaps, have dissipated Mu'tamid's misgivings, and reconciled two friends whose natures were so sympathetic. But, alas! the Prince and the Vizier were far asunder, and the latter had at Seville a crowd of enemies who were only too eager to calumniate him, to blacken him in the monarch's eyes, and to put a malicious interpretation upon his most trivial acts and words. The “infamous men of whom Ibn ‘Ammār spoke in a poem“ -and of whom the most conspicuous was Abū Bakr ibn Zaidun, then the most influential courtier- had indeed so worked upon

Mu'tamid's mind that he had already conceived doubts of Ibn 'Ammār's fidelity when the Vizier bade him farewell on starting for Murcia. It must be added that Ibn 'Ammār had no less dangerous an enemy in Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, prince of Valencia and a friend of Ibn Tahir.

On reaching Murcia, Ibn 'Ammār had intended to treat Ibn Tahir with all courtesy. He accordingly sent him an assortment of robes of honour in order that he might please his fancy; but Ibn Tahir, whose naturally caustic humour was embittered by the loss of his principality, replied to Ibn 'Ammār's messenger: "Tell our master that I do but ask of him a gabardine and a skul-cap." Ibn 'Ammār received this reply when surrounded by his courtiers, and bit his lip in anger. "I understand the meaning of these words," he said at length: "that was the costume I wore when, poor and obscure, I recited my verses to him." Nor did he pardon Ibn Tahir for this bitter wound to his pride.

Changing his intentions, he imprisoned him in the fortress of Monteagudo in 1078. Yielding to the solicitations of Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, Mu'tamid, however, sent orders to his Vizier to release Ibn Tahir. This order was disregarded. The prisoner, nevertheless, succeeded in escaping, by the help of 'Abd al-'Aziz, and took up his abode in Valencia. Ibn 'Ammar was highly enraged, and composed a poem inciting the Valencians to revolt against their prince. It contained the following passage:

"Oh, inhabitants of Valencia, rise like one man against the Beni 'Abd al-'Aziz! Proclaim your just grievances, and choose you another king- a king who can defend you against your enemies! Be he Mohammed or Ahmad, he must be better than the Vizier who hath disgraced your city, like a shameless husband who maketh his own wife a harlot! He hath harboured a man rejected by this own subjects. He hath brought a bird of ill omen into your midst; he hath given you as fellow-citizen a man vile and infamous. Ah! I must cleanse that brow which a girl without a bracelet, a debased slave, hath buffeted. Thinkest thou that thou canst escape the vengeance of one who slackeneth not in pursuit of his foe even when the night showeth no stars? By what crafty wiliness canst thou escape the avenging hands of a brave warrior of the

Beni ‘Ammar, who is followed by a forest of spears? Soon shalt thou see him approach with an unnumbered host! Valencians! I give you sage counsel: march in your might against that palace which concealeth so many infamies within its walls; seize the treasures of its vaults; level it with the ground; let its ruins alone testify that it once existed!”

Mu’tamid, who was already much incensed with Ibn ‘Ammar, thus parodied this effusion:

“By what crafty wiliness canst thou escape the avenging hands of a brave warrior of the Beni ‘Ammar: of the men who but yesterday prostrated themselves in unutterable baseness at the feet of every lord, of every prince, of every monarch: who deemed themselves happy when they received from their masters a morsel a little larger than did the other menials: who, as vile executioners, beheaded criminals, and who are exalted from the basest condition to the highest dignities?²⁹³”



Arabs travelling (Edwin Lord Weeks)

²⁹³ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 682-689.

These verses vastly pleased Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz. Ibn Ammar himself tried to stifle his wrath, but, choked with anger, launched a yet more scathing lampoon against Mu’tamid, Rumaykiyya, and the ‘Abbadids in general. The adventurer born in a hovel, whom Mu’tamid’s generosity had raised from nonentity, dared to reproach the ‘Abbadids with having been merely obscure husbandmen of the hamlet of Jaumin -“that capital of the universe,” as he called it with bitter irony.

“Thou hast chosen among the daughters of the people,” he continued, “Rumayk’s slave, whom her master would gladly have given for a yearling camel. She hath borne thee wantons for daughters, and puny dwarfs that shame thee for sons. Mu’tamid! I will blaze abroad thy dishonour: I will rend the veil that covereth thy sins! Ay, in emulation of the knights of old, thou defendest thy villages, and yet, wittol, thou art complaisant when thy wives are faithless!”

Some remaining sense of shame prevented Ibn ‘Ammar from showing these verses—composed, as they were, in a frenzy of rage- to any except his most intimate friends; but among these was a rich Eastern Jew, in whom he reposed complete confidence, little thinking that he was an agent of Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz. The Jew²⁹⁴ easily contrived to procure a copy of the satire, in Ibn ‘Ammar’s writing, and sent it to the prince of Valencia. The prince immediately sent a letter with the satire to Mu’tamid by a homing pigeon. Henceforth reconciliation was impossible. Neither Mu’tamid nor Rumaykiyya, nor their sons could forgive Ibn ‘Ammar for such scurrilous abuse. But the King of Seville was under no necessity of punishing his Vizier; others undertook that duty.

Alois Richard Nykl (1885-1958) studied also this matter thoroughly and states that «this time the offense was too great

²⁹⁴ **GLICK, Thomas** (1979) *Ethnic Relations, in Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages: Comparative Perspectives on Social and Cultural Formation* (Princeton), pp. 165-193

to be easily pardoned, and both Abu Bakr ibn Zaidun and Ar-Rumaikiya made sure that the king's anger would not soon be dispelled. The venomously satirical poem consists of eleven verses, and it cannot be denied that it contains bits of truth. The first three verses ridicule the genealogy (*nasab*) of the Banu 'Abbad, making of them nomade hailing fro a small and insignificant village. The following three verses ridicule the *nasab* of Ar-Rumaikiya, and as a consequence, Al-Mu'tamid's descendants both on his parents' and his wife's parents' side. The subsequent three verses remind Al-Mut'tamid of the very intimate relatoin between him an Ibn 'Ammar at Silves, but show clearly that these relations did not go beyond the ..*tinaq* and *irtisaf* (Embracing and kissing) stage. The concluding two verses are a threat to expose other private affairs, brand the king as not being generous and as being lax in safeguarding his family's honor: a malious, treacherous stab in the back. The style is quite in keeping with Ibn 'Amar's method, hence we could believe that he is the author of the satire, although some say that it was composed by someone in his name in order to hurt him».

Greet in the West a nomad tribe who stopped
 Their camels there and gained some modest wealth:
 Stop at Yawmin, the mother of the cities, or
 Lie down to sleep and you may see it in vision,
 So you could ask the dwellers as to the ashes,
 Not seeing any fire glowing on the spot:
 You chose here from among a race that's mongrel,
 Ar-Rumaikiya-a mare, not worth a thread!
 She brought forth a brood of shameless brats,
 Base on the two sides of the family tree:
 Short-statured they are, but on their heads
 They wear long horns of opprobrious shame!
 Do you recall the days of our early youth,
 When you resembled a crescent on the sky?
 I would embrace your body that was fresh,
 And from your lips I sipped pure water as well,
 Contenting myself, in loving you, short of *haram*,
 When you did swear that wat I did was *halal*!

I shall expose your *'ird* as time goes on,
And by degrees tear up your secrets' veil:
Oh you 'Amir and Zaid of knights who do withhold
Hospitality, allow your wives to be profaned²⁹⁵!

However, Ibn 'Ammâr had true affection for his friend and benefactor al-Mu'tamid, and according to Dozy "he was less guilty than it looked in the eyes of his king, and it is not true that he had the guilty thinking of rebelling against his sovereign." Indeed, the close friendship between the two "poets" for twenty five years and Ibn 'Ammar's affection for his king is manifested in his poems, of which we cite those which he wrote in response to the criticisms of al-Mu'tamid, reproduced and translated by Dozy:

"Don't fool yourself when you say that the vicissitudes of fortune have changed me! The love I have for Sams, my elder mother, is less strong than the one I feel for you! Dear friend! How is it possible that your goodness does not give me some light with its rays, like lightning illuminates the darkness of the night? How is it possible that not a tender word comes to comfort me, like a sweet breeze? Oh! I suspect some infamous I know wanted to destroy our tender friendship! So you withdraw your hand after a friendship of twenty five years of fulfilled happiness, passed without you having the slightest complaint about me, without me being guilty of any wrongdoing, are you withdrawing your hand leaving me in the claws of fate? Am I nothing to you aside from that obedient and submissive slave? Think about it for a moment - do not rush; who rushes, falls; while the one walking with constituency reaches the end of his journey. Ah! You will remember me when the bonds of friendship that unite us break and you will not have more than interested and fake friends. You will look for me when none of those around you can give you good advice and I will not be there; I, who knew how to sharpen the wits of others."

²⁹⁵ NYKL, Alois Richard (1946-1974). Hispano-arabic poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours. Slatkine reprints, pp. 159-160.

Of course Ibn ‘Ammar was still in Murcia living a completely carefree life, "his arrogance with people, his libertine life and his passion for wine alienated him from the affection of Murcians²⁹⁶."

In his heedless self-indulgence Ibn ‘Ammar did not perceive that Ibn Rashik, aided by the prince of Valencia, was playing the traitor, and when at last his eyes were opened, it was too late. Egged on by Ibn Rashik, the soldiers clamoured for their arrears of pay, and since Ibn ‘Ammar could not satisfy them, they threatened to hand him over to Mu’tamid. Shuddering at this menace, he saved himself by a hasty flight.

He sought refuge with Alfonso, in the hope that that monarch would aid him in reconquering Murcia. But he was mistaken. Alfonso had been influenced by Ibn Rashik’s splendid gifts, and replied to Ibn ‘Ammar: “You tell me a mere tale of robbery; how one robber was robbed by another, who in his turn was robbed by a third!” When he found that he could hope for nothing at Leon, Ibn Ammar proceeded to Zaragoza, where he entered Al-Muqtadir ibn Hud’s service. But this court, much less brilliant than that of Seville, he found completely uncongenial. He therefore proceeded to Lerida, where al-hagib Al-Muzaffar, a brother of Al-Muqtadir, reigned. He was warmly welcomed, but since he found Lerida even more dreary than Zaragoza, he returned to the latter city, where Mu’tamin had succeeded his father Al-Muqtadir. Ibn ‘Ammar seemed destined to perish of *ennui*, which hung like a black cloud over the present and the future; he therefore hailed with delight an opportunity of escaping from idleness. A castellan of his acquaintance was in rebellion. Ibn ‘Ammar promised Mu’tamin to reduce him to obedience, and set out with a small escort. On reaching the foot of the mountain on which the castle stood, he asked the rebel to receive him with two attendants only. The

²⁹⁶ **TURK, Afif** (1991) Ibn ‘Ammâr: Una figura típica del siglo XI. In: Revista de historia Jerónimo Zurita, 63-64, pp. 141-170

castellan, unsuspectingly, granted his request. "When you see me clasp the Governor's hand," said Ibn 'Ammar to his two servants, Jabir and Hadi, "plunge your swords into his heart." The castellan was slain, his soldiers were granted quarter, and Mu'tamin was highly pleased with the service which Ibn 'Ammar had rendered him. Soon afterwards the latter thought he saw another opportunity of gratifying the feverish activity which consumed him. He planned the acquisition of Segura for Mu'tamin. Perched upon the summit of an almost inaccessible crag, this fortress had maintained its independence when Muqtadir had seized the territories of 'Ali, prince of Denia, and a son of the latter, named Siraj-ud-Daula, had held it for some time; but he had recently died, and the Benu Suhail, who had been the guardians of his children, wished to sell Segura to a neighbouring prince. Ibn 'Ammar promised Mu'tamin to obtain the fortress for him as he secured the other castle. He set out with a few troops, and asked Benu Suhail to grant him an interview. They consented, but instead of luring them into his trap, Ibn 'Ammar, who had given them offence when he reigned in Murcia, was himself ensnared. The approaches to Segura were defended by so precipitous a slope that to effect an entrance it was necessary to climb hand over hand. On reaching this dangerous spot, with Jabir and Hadi, his indispensable companions in every dangerous enterprise, Ibn 'Ammar was the first to clamber up; but as soon as his feet touched level ground, the soldiers of the garrison seized him, and shouting to his two servants, bade them run for their lives if they did not wish to be shot down with arrows. There was no need to repeat the warning, and scampering down the rock the servants informed the Zaragoza soldiers that Ibn 'Ammar had been taken prisoner. Well assured that any attempt to rescue him would be fruitless, the troops marched home. Having thrown Ibn 'Ammar into a dungeon Banû Suhail determined to sell him to the highest bidder. This proved to be Mu'tamid, who purchased him together with the castle of Segura²⁹⁷.

²⁹⁷ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical

This was in Rabî 477/July, 1084. There he had time to compose humorous verses describing his condition. His faith in his lucky star was limitless:

I was put at auction and bids were made
Upon my head, in various sums of money:
Indeed, no wrong was done to the gold coins of
Him who bought me at a very high price!

Al-Mu'tamid's sons Ar-Râdî and Ar-Rasîd were Ibn 'Ammâr's friends. Ar-Râdî was sent to bring the prisoner to Cordova. In the hope that they might intercede for him Ibn 'Ammâr handed Ar-Rasîd the following verses:

They said: "Ar-Râdî came." and I said: "Perchance
He was endowed with some of his father's virtues;
Good omen this! Haply Al-Mu'ayyad is sending me
Through him his favour, and safety through his brother!
They said: "Yes," and I touched the ground with my forehead
Thanking him, expecting through his sons good fortune.
Oh Ar-Râdî, even if you do not meet me.
As a well-wisher should, with open kindness,
Suppose you act discreetly, for obvious reasons,
What excuse do you need for pleading for me?
Transmit by your noble hands in behalf of
Your prisoner a letter which will be his ransom!

In great shame Ibn Ammâr was brought to Cordova. The unfortunate Vizier entered the city fettered and mounted on a baggage mule, between two sacks of straw. Mu'tamid overwhelmed him with reproaches, and showing him the vindictive satire, asked him if he recognised his own writing. The prisoner, who could scarcely stand upright under his ponderous chains, remained silent, with downcast eyes; but

when the prince had ended his long invective, the Vizier replied: "I deny nothing, my lord, of what you have said; of what use would it be for me to deny it, when even lifeless things would testify to the truth of your words? I have erred, I have grievously insulted you—yet pardon me!" "That which thou hast done is unpardonable," replied Mu'tamid.

The ladies whom he had outraged in his satire took their revenge by assailing him with biting mockeries. On Friday, 6 Ragab, 477/November 8, 1084, and later Ibn Ammar was sent to Seville. At Seville he had to endure afresh the insults of the crowd. Later on he was imprisoned in a room in the castle called Al-Mubarak. His enemies, especially Ibn Zaidûn's son and successor, together with Ar-Rumaikîha, were doing their best to avoid his softening Al-Mu'tamid's heart.

His imprisonment, however, was protracted, and this circumstance gave him hope. He knew, moreover, that several personages of importance, including Prince Rashid, had spoken or written on his behalf. He did not cease to stimulate the zeal of these allies by his verses, till Mu'tamid grew weary of the interminable petitions addressed to him, and forbade any more writing materials to be given to the prisoner; but the Vizier implored him to let him have, only once more, paper, ink and a reed, and his request having been granted, he composed a long poem to be handed to the King in the evening, while he sat at a banquet.

Your character -if you pardon- will be more noble and generous,
Your excuse -if you punish- will be more than plain and clear:
And if between the two there be a distinction,
You will surely incline toward what is nearest to God!
Have mercy upon me in my submission to your verdict,
Listen not to my foes, even if they repeat their slander!
What more can my foes add to what they say,
Except that my guilt is evident and clearly proved?
Yes, I am guilty, but your clemency has qualities,
Which make guilt lose its balance and vanish.
My hope is that you will decide differently

From what would favor my foe and make him gay:
 And why not, when past affection and service
 Will make the night of sins pass, new dawn will come!
 Granted that I committed misdeeds later,
 Can not deeds, evil at first, then become good?
 Judge me by the good will between us, leading
 To the gate open toward God's inspiration,
 And wipe out the traces of the crime I committed:
 Your mercy will efface and condone it!
 Pay no attention to the talebearers' sayings:
 Every pot seethes over with what it contains!

You will hear all sorts of reports about me,
 Adorned with the lies of Banû 'Abd il-'Azîz:
 All this is known to you, but if I repent,
 I shall not start again to do evil and hurt you.
 I can imagine those knaves, may God curse them,
 Showing their malice by hints and by open remarks,
 Saying: So and So will punish him for his doings,
 But I said: So and So also pardons and forgives!
 Yes, Al-Mu'ayyad (like Hisâm II) can smite with all his power,
 But to Al-Mu'ayyad clemency is more becoming;
 Deep in my heart my love for him is an amulet,
 Which will help me, even if death is about to strike!
 Greetings to him, whichever way passion may turn him: Toward me,
 and he'll draw near; or against me, and he'll turn away:
 Let him, if I die, be consoled by oblivion, for
 I am dying while my longing for him torments me!²⁹⁸

When the guests had departed, Mu'tamid read the verses, was touched, and summoned Ibn 'Ammar to his apartment, where he once more reproached him with his ingratitude. At first, Ibn 'Ammar, choked with sobs, could scarcely reply, but recovering little by little, he recalled with so much eloquence the happiness which they had formerly enjoyed together that Mu'tamid, who was deeply moved, seemed softened -perhaps half vanquished-

²⁹⁸ **MONROE, James T.** (1974). *Hispano-Arabic Poetry. A Student Anthology* (University of California Press, p. 160-162.

DOZY, Reinhart (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 682-689.

and addressed a few reassuring words to him, but no formal pardon. Unfortunately—and no misfortune is so bitter as one which darkens the dawn of hope—Ibn ‘Ammar strangely misunderstood Mu’tamid’s feelings towards him. The alternations of anger and compassion which he had witnessed, he had interpreted erroneously. Mu’tamid doubtless still felt for him a shred of his former affection, but there was a wide gulf between regret and pardon. This is what Ibn ‘Ammar did not understand. On re-entering his prison he dwelt upon his approaching return to fortune, and, unable to restrain the joy with which his heart overflowed, he sent Rashid a letter announcing the happy issue of his conversation with the monarch. Rashid was not alone when this letter reached him, and as he read it his Vizier ‘Isa cast a rapid and furtive glance at the document, which sufficed to inform him of its tenour.

Either through mere garrulity, or because he had no love for Ibn ‘Ammar, ‘Isa noised abroad the matter, and it soon reached the ears of Abu Bakr ibn Zaidun, embellished with exaggerations which are lost to us, but which must have been of a very scandalous nature, since an Arab historian observes that he passes them over in silence rather than soil his book with them. Ibn Zaidun passed the night in anguish; for him Ibn ‘Ammars’ rehabilitation would mean disgrace -perhaps death. On the morrow, uncertain what course to adopt, he remained in his house instead of repairing, as usual, to the palace. Mu’tamid sent for him, and greeted him with his accustomed friendliness, so that Ibn Zaidun became sure that the situation was not so perilous as he had supposed. Accordingly, when the King inquired the cause of his delay, Ibn Zaidun replied that he feared he had fallen into disgrace: he went on to relate how the King’s conversation with Ibn ‘Ammar was known to all the Court; how the return of the ex-Vizier to power was momentarily expected; how his friend and compatriot Ibn Salam, Prefect of the City, had already prepared splendid apartments for his reception in his own house, until his palaces

should be restored to him; and of course he did not omit one of the calumnies which had been spread abroad²⁹⁹.

Mu'tamid was beside himself with rage. Even if what had passed between himself and his prisoner had not been distorted by hatred, he would have been indignant at Ibn 'Ammar's fatuous presumption in taking a few kindly words as a pledge that he was to be set at liberty and restored to power. "Go, ask Ibn 'Ammar," he said to a eunuch, "by what means he divulged the conversation which I had with him last evening?" The eunuch speedily returned. "Ibn 'Ammar" he said, "denies having spoken to anyone." "But he may have written!" replied Mu'tamid; "I gave him two sheets of paper: on one he wrote a poem which he sent to me; what has he done with the other? Go, and ask him that question." The eunuch returning said: "Ibn 'Ammar avers that he used the other sheet for a draft of the poem." "If so," replied Mu'tamid, "let him give you the draft."

Ibn 'Ammar could no longer deny the truth. "I wrote to Prince Rashid," he said penitently, "to inform him of the Kings promise." At this avowal, the blood of his terrible father, that vulture ever ready to swoop upon the prey and assuage his rage in its vitals, surged through Mu'tamid's veins. Grasping the first weapon that lay to hand—a splendid battle-axe given him by Alfonso—he mounted in a few strides the stairs which led to the chamber where Ibn 'Ammar was confined. As his glance met the monarch's flashing eyes, Ibn 'Ammar trembled. He knew that his last hour had come. Dragging his chains he fell at Mu'tamid's feet, and covered them with kisses and tears; but the King, inaccessible to pity, struck his prisoner again and again with the battle-axe, until his blows fell upon a cold corpse. Such was the tragic end of Ibn 'Ammar. Throughout Arab Spain it caused a profound impression, which, however, was not of long duration, for grave events which took place at

²⁹⁹ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 682-689.

Toledo, and the advance of the Castilian army, soon diverted men's thoughts into other channels³⁰⁰.

The weapon in question, a double-edged battle axe was presented by Alphonso to Ibn 'Ammar who, in turn, presented it to al-Mu'tamid (477/1084-5)³⁰¹. The town of Lorca was attached to the kingdom of Sevilla (Al-Mu'tamid, 1069-1090).

Ibn Khallikan's said the following about Ibn Ammār:

«The *kâtib Imâd ad-Dn al-Ispahâni* says, in his *Kharîda*, when giving a notice on Ibn Ammār and an account of his death: "One of the principal circumstances which conduced to his death was his composing a satirical poem on ar-Rumaikiya, the concubine by whom al-Mu'tamid had his children; in one passage he says:"

You chose her from among the daughters of an ignoble stock, that Rumaikiya, a woman who (*if slain*) would not be worth the prince of her blood. She brought (*into the world*) a puny race, doubly vile by their paternal and maternal descent.

I must here observe that ar-Rumaikiya, the concubine of al-Mu'tamid, was purchased by him, in his father's lifetime, from (*one*) Rumaik Ibn Hajjâj, and that she was surnamed after her former master. Al-Mu'tamid displayed an extreme attachment to her and allowed her to acquire a great ascendancy over him. Her real name was Itimâd (*support*), and this induced him to assume the corresponding name of *al-Mu'tamid* (*the supported*). She died at aghmât (*in Morocco*) subsequently to al-Mu'tamid. After his death, she neither shed a tear nor uttered

³⁰⁰ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 682-689.

³⁰¹ **'ABD ALLAH IBN BULUGGIN** (1986). *The Tibyan: Memoirs of 'Abd Allah B. Bullugin, Last Zirid Amir of Granada*. E.J. Brill, Leiden, p. 232.

a sign, but expired of grief. It was she who excited al-Mu'tamid's anger against Ibn Ammar, being incensed at the satire which that poet had directed against her. It is said, however, that he was no the author of the piece, but that his enemies passed it under his name with the intention of turning al-Mu'tamid's heart against him³⁰².»

Al-Mu'tamid had his corpse washed, put in a shroud, said prayers over it, and had it buried near the wall of the castle Mubârak. Thus Ibn 'Ammâr's dream became a reality. The date of this event is given almost correctly by Ibn Khallikân: 476/1083-1084; Al-Marrâkusî's date (479/1086) is wrong. Ibn Hâqân says that he was present when the grave was opened many years afterwards, and the iron rings were still fastened to the dried shinbones. A definite proof of Al-Mu'tamid's having killed Ibn 'Ammâr is a verse in the elegy which the latter's friend, - Ibn Wahbûn, composed at the time:

How strange that I should weep bitterly over him,
Yet say: May the slaver's right hand not wither!³⁰³

Ibn Tâhir of Murcia

'Abd ar-Rahmân Muhammad Ibn Tâhir, the victim of Ibn 'Ammâr's treachery, took refuge with Ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz of Valencia. Al-Fath says that at the time of Ibn Tâhir's arrival at Valencia, many poets wrote to the dispossessed ruler expressing regrets at his misfortune and hopes that the might return to Murcia. Among them was Abû Ga'far al-Battî, whose eight-verse *qit'a* is cited in the *Qal'id*. He stayed at Valencia until the city was taken by the Cid in 487/1094³⁰⁴.

³⁰² **IBN KHALLIKÂN** (1868). *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, Volume 3, Paris, pp. 129-130.

³⁰³ **MONROE, James T.** (1974). *Hispano-Arabic Poetry. A Student Anthology* (University of California Press, p. 163.

³⁰⁴ **MONROE, James T.** (1974). *Hispano-Arabic Poetry. A Student Anthology* (University of California Press, p. 205.

Abu Ya'far b. Yury

Ibn Wahbûn and Abû Ya'far b. Yury were both from Murcia. In the case of the latter, Ibn Bassam simply inserts it into the third part of his anthology, dedicated to the Levante of al-Andalus, and collects an epistle of Abû Ya'far b. Yury addressed to Ibn Tâhir, lord of Murcia, congratulating him on being released³⁰⁵. Ibn Tâhir aroused sympathies of a lot of people, because few agreed with the loss of his Taifa and imprisonment in the hands of Ibn 'Ammar. His subsequent release, thanks to the intervention of the Valencian monarch Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, resulted in a letter of greeting from Abû Ya'far b. Yury:

Abû Ya'far b. Yury was a minister of Ibn 'Ammâr when he rebelled in Murcia. Ibn Bassam traces the biography of the minister, but does not give much information about this writer. Strangely we don't know his date of birth or death. Abû Ya'far b. Yury wrote an elegy about Ibn 'Ammar:

The ambitions of men
have overwhelmed Ibn 'Ammâr,
who has gone to ruin gradually
following his wishes and designs.
He is permitted to enjoy man
and he satisfies all appetites,
but what does he intend to do with him?
He makes him fall from where he had taken him
until he arrives in due time to death.
Source whose way back is hidden from the human being,
death lurks somewhere between the round trip.
Could the older of men
be eternal though his life
was added some other lives?

DOZY, Reinhart (1872). *Investigaciones acerca de la Historia y de la Literatura de España durante la Edad Media*. Tomo II, Madrid.

³⁰⁵ **GARULO, Teresa** (1993-1994) \ *Un poeta menor del siglo V/XI: Abû Ya'far b. Yury*. In: *Sharq al-Andalus*, 10-11. Homenaje a María Jesús Rubiera Mata, pp. 403-422

Any pleasant moment
 could last forever when fate
 is subject to change
 prosperous fortune for adversity?
 Even charged with crimes, Ibn 'Ammār
 did not seek refuge, fleeing from fate,
 in a solid mountain
 which has borne the brunt many times
 of the iniquities.
 The man filled his saddlebags of evil,
 although we believe those were actually good works
 because hiding and showing are alike;
 things are shown, when they arrive,
 in the most ambiguous way,
 and understand then encourages us to flee.
 The person who confronts things
 is not the same as the one who turns away,
 nor one who is lost or wanders at night
 as the traveler who finds his way
 with campfires:
 that one guided by passions
 he approaches, blindly, to the edge of an abyss
 where an absent-minded would fall,
 and if he advances, death comes,
 death that takes on his way,
 along with false men,
 both fools and the wise³⁰⁶.

³⁰⁶Abf 1-Hasan 'Ali ibn Bassam al-Santarini, *al-Dahira fī Mahdsin ahl al-Jazira*, ed. Ihsan 'Abbas (Beirut: Dar al-Taqaḥa, 1979, 8 vols.)

IBN BASSÂM (d. 542/1147) *Ad-Dahira fī mahâsin ahl al-gazira*, Arab edition by Ihsân 'Abbâs, I-III. Tunis: Dâr al 'Arabîya li-l-Kitâb, 1975. Cited by **GARULO, Teresa** (1993-1994) *Un poeta menor del siglo V/XI: Abû Ya'far b. Yury*. In: *Sharq al-Andalus*, 10-11. Homenaje a María Jesûs Rubiera Mata, pp. 403-422

